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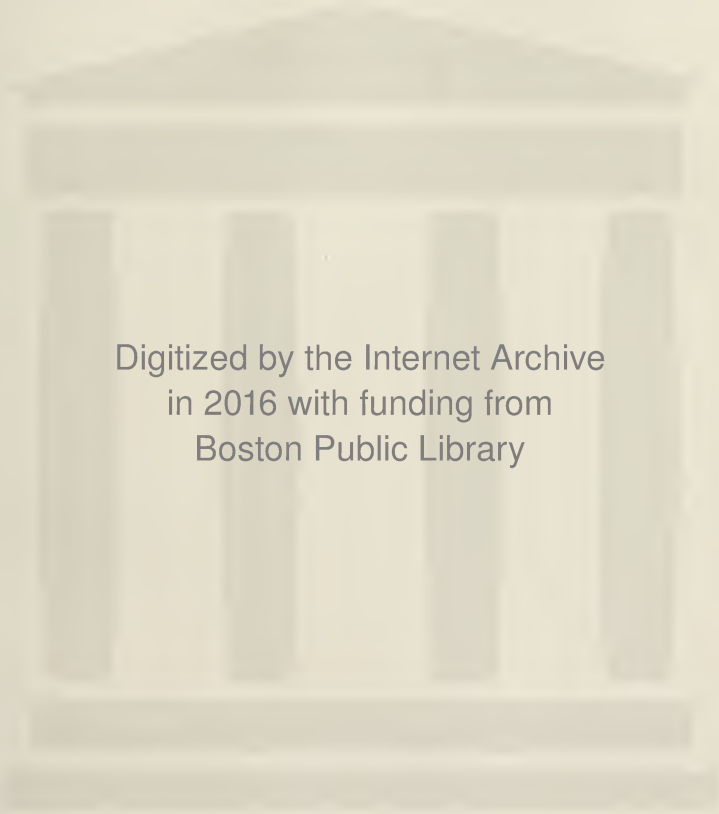
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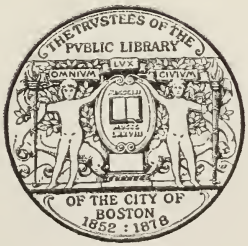

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JANUARY 1956

The Wallace-Griswold Correspondence

By GEORGE EGON HATVARY

AMONG the Griswold papers at the Boston Public Library there is a group of letters written to the famous anthologist by his friend, Horace Binney Wallace. Like every other item in the extensive Griswold Collection, these letters too throw some light on Griswold himself; their unique importance lies, however, in bringing before us the personality of their sender, one of the most remarkable minds produced by America in the first half of the nineteenth century. "I have vanity & ambition enough, but I abhor & detest a small notoriety," Wallace wrote to Griswold once,[1] and indeed one of his most successful undertakings was to keep his name from being associated with his two novels and long list of stories, articles, biographical sketches, book and drama reviews, travel descriptions, and essays on art. For, aside from a brief resurrection of his name as a result of two posthumous collections of some of his works,[2] Wallace has not come to possess even a minor place in the history of American letters.

Would all his works have brought Wallace only a "small notoriety"? Possibly he did underestimate his own accomplishments, though the remark suggests rather the uneasiness of the neurotically secretive personality in face of literary fame. Possibly also he was saving his name for some great work of the future, meanwhile being content with the reputation he was gaining among a select professional circle as editor of a

series of law books. As for the great work he might have achieved, there was simply not enough time.

But let us sketch the events of his life in order. Horace Binney Wallace, son of a distinguished Philadelphia family, who traced their ancestry to Scottish royalty, was born on February 26, 1817. He attended the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton, whence he graduated in 1835. After a brief interest in medicine and chemistry, he finally chose law for his profession and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1840. By this time he had also written two novels and a number of shorter works. *Stanley,* which appeared in 1838 and a year later in England,[3] received such epithets as "decidedly the best book of the season"[4] and "in many respects the most remarkable novel which has appeared in this century."[5] Poe, whose *Marginalia* abounds in passages from *Stanley,*[6] said of its anonymous author: "He is an elaborately careful, stiff, and pedantic writer, with much affectation and great talent. Should he devote himself ultimately to letters, he cannot fail of high success."[7]

Later Wallace lost his "stiff, pedantic" style, losing also his interest in the novel. His second period, the years roughly from 1845 to 1850, saw almost a convergence of his literary and legal interests. Writing for the editorship of Griswold on Washington and Napoleon, or for his other friend, George P. Morris, on contemporary problems in the *Home Journal,* Wallace used a clear, forceful, precise prose achieved through the discipline of his legal training. As a lawyer, on the other hand, he chose not to practice but to collaborate with his friend, the later Judge John I. Clark Hare, in editing for American use some forty volumes of English and American decisions and Exchequer Reports.

In 1850 Wallace visited Europe for a year, and thus began what we may call his third period, during which there appeared in his writing a preoccupation with beauty, which evoked some of his most profound utterances — sometimes in response to nature, sometimes to art. It was on this journey also that Wallace made the acquaintance of Auguste Comte, who, considering him his foremost American disciple, wrote of him in one of his prefaces, "D'après un rare concours entre le coeur,

l'esprit, et le caractère, il devait puissamment seconder la difficile transition réservée au dix-neuvième siècle."[8] When Wallace returned to the United States he was to remain here only a year and a half. Toward the end of 1852 it appears that he began to suffer from cerebral lesions, which brought on in him a fear of insanity. He went to seek medical advice in Paris, and there he committed suicide on December 16, 1852, at the age of thirty-five.

If Wallace's second period was marked by an externalization of interests, an emergence, so to speak, from the self-consciousness of over-conservative youth, Griswold's personality seems in this to have played a role of some importance. The well-known anthologist, whose literary ways were, incidentally, chiefly journalistic, was for Wallace a beckoning voice from the public — a form of inspiration that for him who cared little for fame was vital. The documents before us, as well as other sources that develop Wallace's repeated contributions to Griswold's literary reputation, suggest money, return of favors, and Wallace's simple altruism toward his friend as compensations; but who would deny that Wallace's fundamental wages lay in the very opportunity given him to write?

The two men first met probably in 1845, in which year Griswold was in Philadelphia gathering material for his second major anthology, *The Prose Writers of America;* in fact, Horace Binney, the noted jurist, who was Wallace's uncle and biographer, relates a veritable discovery:

> Recognizing, in this case, the unquestionable marks of genius, as yet fresh and unknown to the country, Dr. Griswold was at pains to ascertain the true source from which the writings he had noted, came; and discovering by a literary accident the name and residence of their author, invited an acquaintance with him in the honorable purpose of asking his allowance to give publicity and reputation to his name, by introducing it with portions of his writings in "The Prose Writers of America," just then about to appear.[9]

Needless to say, Wallace refused to be represented in the anthology, allowing only the use of his name as dedicatee. That their acquaintance soon took a social turn becomes evident from the following letter from Wallace to Griswold, dated December 3, 1845, which incidentally presents to us two of Wal-

lace's closest friends, Emily Chubbuck Judson (or "Fanny Forester") and George Pope Morris:

My dear Sir

I have spoken to my sister, Mrs. Riddle, who promises me that she will go to the ball to-morrow, & will *matronize* the Forester. If the latter consents to go, Mrs Riddle will have the pleasure to call upon her to-morrow morning; & then make the arrangements etc. As to costume, I shall think it extremely odd if these ladies cannot, by laying their heads together, manage the matter perfectly. I hope you will bring your influence, (which I have cause to think great) to bear in favor of Miss Forester's accompanying us. It will be a fine show, & worth seeing. If you conveniently can, I think it would be well to communicate with her to-night. Will you let me hear from you at my office to-morrow morning at an early hour.

I have a particular personal favor to ask of you, touching the enclosed. It is a notice of my old friend Morris' late collection of songs; which you would do me a kindness by procuring to be inserted in the North American, *at as early a date as practicable.* Morris is poor; & I believe it would be a valuable service to him to promote the sale of his work.

Very sincerely, in haste.

H.B.W.[10]

The remainder of Wallace's letters to Griswold seem to be addressed to New York, where Griswold went in June, 1847, shortly after the appearance of his *Prose Writers.* The one dated August 11, 1847, discusses a proposed quarterly, suggesting on Griswold's part a surprising amount of dependence on Wallace's judgments:

My Dear Sir

Many thanks for your kind present of autographs. That is a commodity always acceptable to me.

Touching the quarterly, — I think it a good scheme; & if the Harpers are ready to come into it with *capital,* I apprehend no difficulty about *articles.* I am willing to engage for one article a number, & perhaps might write 3 or 4. With regard to length of articles, it is well to announce the general rule, as to long articles receiving less per page than short ones; but it might be convenient for you to reserve, with the Harpers, privately, discretion to allow the page price, $5, for long articles, if you thought fit: there being some subjects on wh. a man co'd not turn round in 20 pages.

As to contributors, I would advise you to try Hudson, — giving

him his subject, & a great one. Among popular authors, Willis is the only one who is worth anything under an anonyme. You might write to [Joseph] Henry for an article on his views on the Smithsonian Institute: offering him an opportunity to unfold his plan: let him know that another hand wo'd add some paragraphs respecting himself personally — the whole matter to be confidential. Grace Greenwood, decidedly — something on feminine authors, or feminine natures, manners, or what not. Tell her not to make a solemn, grave, sensible article, but one lively, dashing, fantastic, crammed with puns, quips, & quirks — only *good* — careful — & striking. Such articles must be in, for variety. — Suppose you try old Webster. Write him a confidential letter — frank & sincere. Tell him the object is to start a really conservative journal — to guide & lead; & that an article, connecting the duty of conservatives with his policy or personal prospects will be acceptable. I think it might be managed in a way to bring him readily into it.

I am so much fatigued at present with correcting proofs of a very tedious law book, that I am obliged to suspend. Pray write me what *actual prospect* there is of having out a number for January; & how many articles you want from me, & when? I will write, more at length, in regard to what strikes me as to tone, & position.

Very truly yrs

H. B. Wallace

A year later, as we are about to see, Wallace approached the idea of the quarterly with renewed interest, seeing in it now a powerful organ to help the Whig cause and visualizing himself as not merely future contributor but future editor.[11] By this time the Wallace-Griswold friendship had borne its richest fruits: *Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution,* of which Wallace had written the sixty-page leading essay on Washington,[12] and *Napoleon and the Marshals of the Empire,* written entirely by Wallace, who veiled his identity even from the publishers under the pseudonym of pseudonyms, "Junius."[13] This explains the signature of the following letter to Griswold on July 3, 1848:

My dear Sir

The suggestion of bringing out a single number of a new Quarterly, remained undecided upon, when I left New York; & I promised to send you my final impressions upon it.

I am heartily desirous to set, or see set, in operation a strong, permanent journal. I wish it as a means of acting powerfully upon the opinions & conduct of the nation. The profits to be derived

from the success of such an establishment, of course, are a matter of important consideration: but mere profit, — if the other, & principal object were not attained — might better be sought in other ways.

I can not bring myself to decide in favor of a single number, or two numbers, without establishing the thing, at the outset upon a firm & continuing basis. The effect produced by a single number would be trifling. The profits, I am satisfied, would be less than nothing. We should merely waste, in a premature effort, materials & energies which might give certain success to a better considered scheme. We should incur the discredit & injury of a failure.

My judgment is, therefore, against the plan of publishing a number or two upon a venture. At the same time, I am heartily desirous of establishing a *permanent* ¼ly upon that basis of views & opinions which we have discussed together. I think it probable that *that* may be done. Indeed I have a scheme upon the subject which I will submit to you in detail in the course of a few weeks. I write at present, chiefly to say that, after much reflection, I am *against* the plan of a single number.

On Friday, July 7th, I leave home, to be absent for about 10 days, or a fortnight. Upon my return, I will write to you again upon this matter.

I have thought of a book which it appears to me would be popular at this time. I mean, a thorough & able "Military History of the Late Campaign in Mexico" — executed in a complete, accurate, & brilliant manner. I propose that letters should be written to a great number of officers of every grade, asking them to give an account of what they saw in the different engagements. All the different authentic letters from the army, published in the papers should also be consulted. All official papers collected. And out of the whole, might be made the most perfect history ever written of a great campaign. It should be a national work, & mention by name every man distinguished in every battle. Such a thing it appears to me would sell greatly. The subject would bear it, for really the achievements both of Scott & Taylor were very able & brilliant. There should be maps, plans, views &c. It ought to be a large work; quite as large as Cooper's Naval History. What think you of it? Carey & Hart ought to pay $1000 for such a book; & $200 to you, additional, for the use of your name as editor. If you can negotiate such an undertaking, the work might be ready in November or December.

The letter to the military people ought to be written by Carey & H. — Suppose you sound them. If they are inclined favorably, I would send a more detailed & clearer view of the design.

Very truly & hastily yours

Junius

Wallace and Griswold may have undertaken a study of the Mexican War such as is outlined here, but of its appearance there is no record. What did appear in the following December was Griswold's third important anthology, *The Female Poets of America,* for which Wallace wrote at least one favorable review. This he sent to Griswold on December 18, 1848, with the following letter:

Dear Sir

C. & H. sent me this afternoon a copy of your "Female Poets of Am." which they say is the first copy that has come from the binder's hands. It is admirable & beautiful, in all respects. I have written the accompanying notice. I wo'd send it to Morris, but his paper generally goes to press on Tuesday, & it wo'd be too late for this week. I therefore send it on to you, that you may have it inserted in the Tribune or any other influential paper *at once* — so that C. & H. may quote it when they announce the book. You might try whether it is in time for Morris. Tell him confidentially the facts, or show him this note. If you do not get it in time for his paper I will write another for him, for next week. I will send you some more notices in the course of a day or two. It is the best book you have yet made. I predict great popularity for it.

Most truly yrs

H.B.W.[14]

ONE of the vital public issues at this time was the Camden & Amboy Railway Company monopoly, and Wallace, who was to publish a series of articles showing that the people of New Jersey had the legal right to abolish the monopoly,[15] was a strong supporter of the well-known economist, Henry Carey, in his stand against the Camden & Amboy Railway Company. On February 26, 1849, he wrote to Griswold:

Thank you — my dear Sir — for your kind letter. If you write again to Greeley, you might suggest to him that the event has proved that Carey was entirely wise in refusing to appear before the Managers' Committee; for their report, & all the circumstances attending it, so disgusted the people of New Jersey, that the legislature have appointed a commission of *known opponents of the company,* to sit after the session adjourns, with power to send for books & papers, & authorized to investigate the affairs of the Companies thoroughly. Carey will appear before this commission; & the monopoly will be blown to pieces. In my opinion, there never was an

abler move in diplomacy, & at the same time a plainer dictate of common sense, than Carey's refusing to recognize that first committee. The Managers had counted confidently on his accepting their offer. His refusal checkmated their schemes; & converted an "investigating" committee into a "whitewashing" committee, which disgusted the public & has done infinite mischief. The companies' doom is sealed; nevertheless, Carey will have a fierce struggle to go through, yet: & I should be extremely glad to have access to any respectable New York paper, to give him what aid is in my power.

I will send you, in a few days, a memoir of Dr. Binney for your Biogr. Dict.

I am glad to hear that Macaulay will be Hudson-ated. Apropos thereof, I have a favour to ask of you.

Nourse, of Bardstown, called to see me on his way home, about 3 weeks since; & promised me to write a review of Macaulay's History. His opinion of it agrees entirely with mine. He will send the article to me as soon as it is finished: & I am expecting it in the course of the next fortnight. I promised to use my efforts to get it inserted in some of the reviews or magazines; & my principal reliance will be on you. It ought to be printed entire — that is, all at once, — & not in successive numbers, & for that purpose it may be necessary to make an arrangement with the publisher of the magazine, or Review beforehand. Will you give us the benefit of your influence? The "North American" I suppose will be occupied by Whipple. I should prefer "The Democratic" — & next to it, the American Review. If neither of these can conveniently be had — The Knickerbocker will serve admirably: only — space enough must be allowed to get the whole in one number. Will you be good enough to see what can be done? If any *pay* can be obtained — however moderate — it would be very desirable, as Nourse is affluent only in mental treasures.

I am extremely beholden for your kind intentions in regard to the autographs of the Female Poets. The Book is universally well spoken of. — I was excessively shocked to hear of [Charles Fenno] Hoffman's misfortunes. It is only on last Saturday that I sent to enquire for him, intending to visit him. They said that he had gone out of town; but did not state whither. I shall be very glad to see you in Philadelphia.

Very truly yours

H.B.W—[16]

The biographical dictionary mentioned here was the project that had brought Griswold to New York in the summer of 1847 on a contract with Harper's. Wallace contributed several articles to this work, which, however, was destined never to see

Such articles must be in, for variety. — Suppose you try old Webster. Write him a confidential letter — frank & sincere. Tell him the object is to start a really conservative journal — to guide & lead; & that an article, connecting the duty of conservatives with his policy or personal prospects will be acceptable. I think it might be managed in a way to bring him readily into it —

I am so much fatigued at present with correcting proofs of a very heavy law book, that I am obliged to suspend. Pray write me what actual prospect there is of having out a number for January; & how many articles you want from me, & when? I will write more at length, in regard to what strikes me as to tone, & position.

Very truly yrs

H. B. Wallace

Part of Wallace's Letter to Griswold, August 11, 1847

light. On March 3, 1849, Wallace enclosed a sketch of his maternal grandfather to Griswold with the following letter:

Dear Sir

I send the promised memoir of Dr. Binney for your Biogr. Dict. It is an authentic & accurate notice of the career of a very interesting man.

I am not quite sure that I gave you the correct number of the volume of Washington that my set lacks. It is the *tenth* that is wanting.

Very truly yrs.

H.B.W.

I should be very glad to have a proof of this memoir.[17]

An interesting example of Wallace's soliciting Griswold's aid in turn is shown by the following letter, written sometime in the fall of 1849. It is not exactly a favor Wallace asks here, for Richard Henry Dana, Sr., to whose famous Shakespeare lectures the letter refers, was Griswold's friend also.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of the Dana Correspondence, which appears in all our papers this morning. I hope you will puff & blast away in all manner of styles. Insert something in the Tribune's Correspondence, & in the Tribune editorially.

Can you get Jarvis to write on the subject for the Ledger?

Get something in the Literary World. The Lectures begin November 27, & finish Dec. 21; two per week. At the University Hall in 9th Street.

By the by, on reflecting upon what you told me, about "who is it?" I should feel excessively annoyed by the publication of any such story, & I therefore particularly hope that you will abandon the intention. I have vanity & ambition enough, but I abhor & detest a small notoriety.[18]

The fall of 1849 saw Griswold's involvement in a controversy of international proportions, in which he received Wallace's advice and help. What had taken place was that government agents of the United States in Puebla, Mexico, sold to a certain M. Port some tobacco that belonged to a certain Domercq. On Domercq's complaint, the U. S. Government, claiming that Port had known of the proprietorship, dealt with the situation by sending troops into Port's warehouse, seizing the tobacco, and returning it to Domercq. Port brought suit

against the U. S. Government, which resulted in strained personal relations between the American Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, and the French minister to the United States, M. Poussin. Claiming that Poussin had insulted the U. S. Government, Clayton procured the French minister's dismissal.

Though public opinion favored Secretary Clayton, Poussin had his defenders, among them Griswold. On October 9, 1849, the same day that saw the appearance of Griswold's famous "Ludwig" article on Poe's death in the *Tribune,* there appeared in the New York *Evening Post* four columns by him attacking Clayton and defending Poussin. This article, entitled "Mr. Clayton and the Minister of France," was also signed "Ludwig." Next day, on October 10, the article together with the signature, was reprinted in the New York *Journal of Commerce.* About a week later, on October 18, there appeared in the New York *Tribune* an article by one of the *Tribune's* regular correspondents, who signed himself "Alpha," attacking Poussin and his defender in the *Evening Post* and the *Journal of Commerce.* "Alpha" not only charged that Poussin's defender in the above papers had been hired by Poussin but claimed that of the truth of this charge Mr. Clayton had been satisfied.

Next day, on October 19, Wallace wrote to Griswold:

My Dear Sir,

I did not, until last night, see the Tribune's correspondent Alpha, in the paper of yesterday.

I wish you would take the enclosed, as it stands, in my handwriting, to the Tribune & require its insertion. It is due to M. Poussin.

I requested some time ago that an exact bill of printing expenses should be sent to me. All payments which you have made you must consider as made on my account.

I hope you will not make any publication on the subject *under your own name.* What a miserable scrape Willis has got into from coming out under his own name, against an anonyme. You had better not publish anything; I will try to take care of all parties.

If anything appears in the Mirror, I should like you to send it to me.

Truly yrs.

W.

I should be glad if you would correct the proof, & get back the MS., of the letter to the Tribune.[19]

On Monday, October 22, the *Tribune* printed "Ludwig's" supposed reply, complete with editorial introduction and conclusion — apparently every word written by Wallace. The core of the argument was as follows:

I call upon your correspondent to say, upon what authority he tells the public, that the Secretary of State, from evidence furnished to him, is satisfied that Poussin paid the person who penned the remarks for so doing. If the Secretary of State has declared or intimated that the writer of those remarks was hired, paid, or in any manner employed by Mr. Poussin, the Secretary of State is doubly a slanderer. If your correspondent has written without authority from the Secretary of State, the matter may concern you, or may concern your correspondent; but it interests me no longer. It is due to Mr. Poussin that the truth should be explicitly declared, by the person, who, alone, is competent to make a conclusive statement of the subject. *The opinion or suggestion that the writer of the remarks in the Journal of Commerce and Evening Post, was hired, paid, or employed by Mr. Poussin, or by any of his friends, or that he wrote at the request, or with the knowledge or privity of Mr. Poussin, has no foundation whatever in truth.*

"Alpha" was silenced.

On October 29, 1849, Wallace sent further contributions to Griswold's biographical dictionary. The accompanying letter gives an interesting example of Wallace's insistence on keeping hidden his identity — in this case, behind the name "John H. Meredith," supposed author of a sketch on Griswold which Wallace sent to the publisher, W. H. Graham:[20]

Dear Sir,

I know not which of my unworthy deservings has called forth the magnificent gift which reached me on Saturday; & I am obliged to refer it exclusively to your generosity. Its splendour excites my admiration as well as my thanks. But it creates some remorse in my thoughts for the vile libel on your character which yesterday I sent to Graham. I am conscious of having done no justice to you: but I determined at the beginning not to make a panegyric, & I believe I have kept my word. If you wish anything added or altered, let me know. If there is room, I should like to insert some extracts from your writings, which I will indicate to you, when the printing begins, & which you can send to the printer. I must see the proofs; & you had better send them to me, than let Graham send to Meredith. For several obvious reasons, the *authorship must continue to be kept a profound secret.*

The Bradford papers will go to-day by express. The life of the *Honourable* William, is written by myself: the other lives are by a friend, & have been prepared with great care, & contain, I believe, much valuable information. The lives in Thomas are full of errors. *You will be good enough to let me see proofs.*

Boudinot's Life you have.

Since writing the above, I find the Bradford lives make so small a bundle, that I send them by this mail.

Truly yrs.

W.

ANOTHER one of Griswold's controversies in which he received Wallace's advice sprang up a few months later, around the personality of Thomas Jefferson. On February 5, 1850, there appeared in the New York *Tribune* Griswold's article on Jefferson — a reply really to the objections of the Boston *Post,* the Newark *Eagle,* and the Philadelphia *Ledger* to a comparison Griswold had made between Jefferson and Thomas Paine. Griswold now asserted that Jefferson had not been a Christian and that he had hated Washington, claiming that while Washington's Secretary of State Jefferson had been in the habit of dictating behind closed doors to Philip Freneau, the editor of the vigorously republican *National Gazette,* a series of abusive attacks on the President. "A file of the *Gazette,*" writes Griswold, "is extant, in which Mr. Jefferson's 'editorials' are all marked by the hand of Freneau, and they comprise nearly everything that was atrociously abusive — the very sentences, probably, to which the Great Chief thus indignantly called the attention of the Iago of his administration."

Whether Jefferson actually had any hand in the series of attacks on Washington in Freneau's paper, historians have not been able to determine. Griswold's article is certainly clearly and vigorously written, though it would take some of Wallace's thoroughly Federalist sympathies and trust in Griswold's statements to become enthusiastic over it. On February 18, 1850, Wallace wrote to his friend:

My dear Sir,

I have to-day your letter touching Jefferson; but I have not received the Tribune containing your article.

I read the article some days ago at the exchange; & think it ad-

mirable. I never read anything in a newspaper which I think superior.

Now allow me to advise you as to the *mode* of reply. Wait until the enemy has printed all that he intends to print. *Then* — do not make a new article in the shape of a mere answer to the Ledger's articles; but revise & extend your original article taking notice of any new matter introduced by the Ledger, & replying to it in connexion with the matter in your original paper.

You will thus avoid the directly controversial form, which I think is always to be shunned, for there is no end to it, & a mendacious half-crazy penny-a-liner like Jarvis can always have the last word.

You will in this manner also make a paper of permanent & historical value, to be reprinted in more permanent shape.

Can you obtain certain evidence about the articles in Freneau's paper? Where is the copy of the paper wh. you allude to? — It wo'd be worth a journey to Kamchatka to see it.

Take your time: prepare your answer deliberately: & fill the gun full.

Touching the Railroad — Carey agrees to Fuller's conditions, & will write to you to-night. He & I between us will keep up a good fire.

In haste, yrs

H.B.W.[21]

Apparently, however, Jarvis did not attack further in the *Ledger*. The *Eagle* did come out trying to prove that Jefferson was indeed a Christian, and to this Griswold answered in the *Tribune* on February 11, 1850.

All this time Wallace was making preparations for his approaching European trip. On April 17, 1850, he wrote Griswold:

My dear Sir,

I have concluded my arrangements for visiting Europe this Spring, & shall sail about the 10th of May. Can you give me any Letters? — Shall I do anything for you? — I will carry out anything you desire to send to Bentley or any of those people. How comes on our Irving article? Have you got any extra-copies of the last Southern Literary Messenger? — If so, I should like you to send one to Miss Sedgwick. By the by, why cannot you to Europe at the same time? It would do your health much good. I should be extremely glad to see proofs of those Bradford & Binney articles before I go. Is it not practicable for me to do so?

Very truly yrs

HBW.[22]

As we turn to the last available letter from Wallace to Griswold we must glance back at Griswold's most famous controversy — that arising from his obituary on Poe, which had appeared in the New York *Tribune* on October 9, 1849. Now this is a large subject, one that has been discussed at length,[23] and I think it is sufficient here to say that at best Griswold's utterances on Poe were not the result of fairness and objectivity. But what about Wallace? Did he share Griswold's negative emotions toward the dead poet? Or did he know Poe little enough to be able to accept Griswold's analysis in good faith? Or did he have mental reservations about Griswold's judgments, nevertheless standing by his friend at a time when attack was following attack?

In an essay on Griswold, which was to appear after his departure for Europe, Wallace wrote:

> If the time and talents of a skilful editor, who will labor *gratuitously,* in some benevolent undertaking toward the works of some defunct, are needed, Dr. Griswold is counted upon with ready confidence. The case of the late Edgar Allen [*sic*] Poe is an illustration of this matter, very honorable to the subject of our notice. There was nothing in the private relation of the parties to render it at all natural or probable that Mr. Poe should have left a request that Dr. Griswold would be the editor of his writings; but he knew the generous spirit and admirable capacity of the person whose regard he invoked, and felt assured that he would do in the best manner what probably no other would do at all . . . What a profound, complete and exquisite estimate of the character of Poe, is that which has recently been copied through the papers![24]

As for Wallace's knowledge of Poe, years ago as an editor of *Graham's* Poe had corresponded with Wallace as "William Landor,"[25] but whether they ever met we do not know. In any event, even if Wallace was privately critical of Griswold's statements, it would have been most unnatural on his part to dissolve a four-year-old friendship in consequence. When Griswold after months of being attacked wrote to him what must have been a desperate letter, Wallace replied on May 4, 1850:

> My dear friend,
>
> I have been for the last 3 days in Maryland, & received your Letter only last night.

In regard to these fellows who are discussing your article on Poe, I think the way to deal with them is this. To let a third person review the whole subject. — Yr. article, Willis's, Graham's, & Neal's — in a distant & impartial way — setting the thing in the true light. I would do it with great pleasure. But I should require to be furnished with *all* the 4 articles in question. I leave here on Monday evening next, & sail on Wednesday following. The pressure of engagements under which I am renders it quite impracticable for me to do anything at present. If however you would like me to take hold of the subject, I could write an article while I am at sea, & send it over by the 1st steamer. For that purpose, I should like you to furnish me with the articles of Ludwig, Graham, & Willis. It is a subject which it will be better to let stand a few weeks.

Do anything you please about the Irving article. My brother has already sailed for Europe. I will try to see you on Tuesday morning next.

Truly yrs

HBW.[26]

AFTER the date of this letter Wallace had, as we have seen, two and a half more years to live; but significantly enough his identity was present for a few years following his death in some of Griswold's correspondence. His brother, John William Wallace, his posthumous editor, the Rev. Herman Hooker, and others wrote to Griswold concerning him. It is, I think, in order at this time to turn to the remaining Wallace documents in the Griswold Collection at the Boston Public Library.

The Reverend Herman Hooker's undated letter, which was apparently written soon after Wallace's death, seems important enough to be quoted in full:

Dear Griswold

I have been disappointed in not seeing your notice of Wallace. I sent you the papers you wrote for. I had to get them of J W. Wallace, and as the notices of his mother and sister by me could not be replaced, he requested me, to have them returned. Mr. Binney has written a pamphlet on Wallace — it is very good. Mr. Dana from Boston has written to me to know all the facts I can give of his death. Mr. Riddle says there is no doubt of the utter loss of his reason, and that there were strong marks of it before he left the country, and gives the instances in which it appeared. He had a strong presentiment of becoming an imbecil, Let me hear

from you. My best regards to Mrs. Griswold, — I trust it may not be long before I shall have the pleasure of her acquaintance.

Yr friend

H. Hooker

Could not Wallace's remains be made a valuable work?[27]

To carry out this happy idea Hooker did not hesitate long. In a letter to Griswold, probably in the latter part of 1854, he wrote:

I am printing a volume of Wallace notes on Art and his description of Cathedrals to make one vol. 12mo 4 or 500 pages. I bespeak all the interest you can make for it. The volume is to include what the author designed for a volume . . . Only an edition of 1000 copies will be printed — 200 page now in type. Wallace was not known — and there are pretenders enough who will not wish to see his light: Let us hail it Milton-like, as a first burst of a Creation.

Art, Scenery and Philosophy in Europe was out by November, 1854. Wallace's brother, John William Wallace, with whom he had had an especially close relationship, apparently took great pride in this collection. In a letter to Griswold on November 23, he wrote:

These, (I mean my brothers books) are designed of course for gifts to any of your friends. I will see that Dr Francis has a copy. Mr Hooker sent one to Mr Bryant; as I did, one, to Mr Tuckerman at the Union Place hotel. I should be pleased to know that Mr Hiram Ketcham has a copy.

The book was during 1855 and 1856 to receive notices in several important periodicals, so that Hooker's complaint on January 6, 1855, that the press was neglecting it was rather premature. He wrote to Griswold:

As you always appeared to me to go before all in your admiration and friendship for Horace Binney Wallace — I express to you my grievance that so long a time has elapsed without any notice by the New York press with the exception [?] of Home Journal, so far as I have seen appearing. Is this my fault — neither the author nor the merits of the book can be in fault.

Copies have certainly been freely sent to the press — full fifty in all . . .

Now for the sake of the Family, of Wallace — could you not exert some influence to secure notices of this book . . .

Dr. Lord [?] the Lecturer, says he has seen all the works of Art of which Wallace speaks and of all the writers on Art, he is the ablest. He says it is the best book on Art ever written. R. H. Dana [Sr.] writes that [he] is "astonished Wallace could write so beautiful a book and worthy of study."

Prof Allen of this city who knew Wallace well and is a fine Schollar himself, told me the book as it is, was "truly a wonderful book and would never be forgotten."

Now should we let it die unknown — should the finest genius of our times die as by a stroke of Heaven, & all that is left of him perish in our hands?

Wallace's second posthumous collection, *Literary Criticisms,* was brought out by Hooker in 1856. George P. Morris, apropos of a long review he had written of it for the *Home Journal,* wrote to Griswold on March 28, 1856:

In making my *extracts* from the Literary Criticisms of our beloved friend Wallace, I have not forgotten you, as you will perceive from the enclosed part of next week's paper, now on the press. I have *sandwiched* you between Undine and Milton, and I hoped you would have been pleased with my fairness. *Wallace has paid you a deserved and delicate compliment in the extract I have taken from his book, and it will shine upon you like a star, when all the slanders that have assailed you have perished with their authors and been forgotten.*

But nothing among these posthumous references to Wallace seems so important as a letter from Joseph H. Allen to Griswold describing a conversation with Wallace a little over a month before his death, and a letter from Wallace, a copy of which Allen encloses, on the subject of Auguste Comte and his philosophy.[28] Allen's letter to Griswold is dated from Bangor, Maine, February 24, 1853, and is as follows:

Dear Sir,

I enclose a copy of the note to which you refer. It is the only one that I have received from Mr. Wallace. It was written in answer to some inquiries which I made of him — my attention being directed to his name by the notice which Comte takes of him in his letter to Dr. M'Clintock, prefixed to the second volume of the "Politique Positive."

Being in Philadelphia on the 5th of November last, I had the pleasure of spending part of an evening with Mr Wallace at his residence. In the course of conversation, I asked him to state more definitely what he meant by the application of the "positive meth-

od" to religion — to which he alludes in this note. In reply he said, in general terms, that he thought this method would result in a religious system bearing more analogies to the Catholic than any other existing one: only (if I understood him rightly) resting on the development of the free reason, and on the entire historical development of mankind, instead of ecclesiastical dogmatism, and a practical view of history. I expressed a strong interest to see the thought more fully carried out: in reply to which, he promised to write out his view in full, in a future letter to me — in place of which I remember urging that it should be in some more public way — "why not write it to the world?" This he left undecided; but promised, to give me the information I desired.

I felt it to be a great privilege as well as pleasure, to have had this interview with Mr. Wallace, — though I was by no means aware of the amount of valuable service he had already rendered. It was with great pain & sorrow that I saw the announcement of his death — unaccompanied by any particulars; and this sorrow is increased by receiving a memorial pamphlet (for which I supposed myself indebted to his brother) which greatly confirms & exalts the estimate I had been led to form of him.

Owing to the peculiar terms of Mr. Comte's allusion to Mr. Wallace, I wrote to him recently, supposing that this loss might be perhaps a source of serious personal inconvenience to him. If there should be anything in his reply of interest as touching his personal knowledge or intercourse with Mr. W. I will send it to you.

With the most sincere & friendly wishes for yourself, and for your wife, to whom I desire to be kindly remembered

I am your obed[t] Servant,

J. H. Allen.

In case you write again, will you have the kindness to give me the address of Mr. Wallace's brother — which I have lost?

Wallace's letter, copied by Allen, is dated September 11, 1852, and is as follows:

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the seventh instant. I am sorry that it is not in my power to give you information of the extent to which M. Comte's views are received in this country. I am acquainted with but one person, in this city; who besides myself is a reader of his books. Out of Philadelphia, I know, personally, no one who has given much attention to the subject. In regard to what has appeared in public journals, you perhaps have more knowledge than I have; as I rarely see reviews or magazines. I know not of any special repository in this country of the publications of M. Comte or his followers.

I view with regret the formation of a *school* or *society* of Positivistes in France, and should dissuade from the establishment or recognition of any such guild in this country. It attaches a body of men to the founder's personal system of opinions, which, of necessity, takes up many defects & errors; for it is given to the greatest & wisest of mankind, to touch the line of truth only in a few bright points, & fall below it or go beside it in many others. For the seekers of positive truth to identify themselves with M. Comte's individual scheme of views, would be to act in conflict with the first principle of the positive method, & to fall into a characteristic fault of the exploded metaphysical style. The positive method is a right method; and the just use of it must lead to the discovery of truth; & truth has no need of a cabal of persons to sustain or enforce it. We have not *schools* in astronomy or chymistry. If any one, there, establishes a discovery, it is received; but all the notions which the discoverer may connect with it, are not received. I think it better that such truths as M. Comte establishes should be suffered to enter into the general mass of sound opinions in the world, and that continuance should not be given to those numerous mistakes with which in his mind they have naturally been associated. At the same time, his past services have been so transcendant as to give him a title to personal support, whatever hereafter he may do. To you, of course, I need not say that M. Comte is in no wise the founder, or first philosophical expounder of this method. But in my judgment he has made more important contributions to it than any one since Bacon. He has discovered several invaluable laws for which the world is under unmeasurable obligations to him. He has made an excellent use of the method in the analysis of medieval history. But in his synthetic applications of it to the reconstruction of society in the present & future, I think that he has gone wrongly. In his views on religion as contained in the "Ensemble du Positivisme," he has been guilty of a complete departure from the principles of the method, & has constructed a metaphysical fabric of error. I am satisfied, however, that the positive method can be brought to bear upon religion with perfect success. It is because I consider that the direction which M. Littré & the Société positiviste in France are now giving to the application of the method, is quite mistaken, that I have offered no encouragement to the establishment of the Revue Occidentale. I have not seen the second volume of M. Comte's new work, & cannot say how far I should agree to it.

There can be no difficulty, Sir, in communicating by letter with M. Comte. His address is No 10. Rue Monsieur le Prince, Paris. I visited him there, and found him inclined to extend his personal connexions to all countries.

I shall be most happy to see you in Philadelphia, & if you

should be here I hope that you will do me the favour to call upon me. My residence is 284 Spruce St.

I am, sir, with much respect,
Your obt. humb^e^ Sevt

H. B. Wallace.

If the examination of this literary relationship has left us with the impression that Wallace was primarily Griswold's off-stage counselor, aide-de-camp, and ghost, it is particularly satisfying to be able to conclude with this letter. Wallace, who had received the greatest praise from Comte and was in a month to will an annuity of five hundred francs to him, was not to be wooed even by such a relationship with the great philosopher to sacrifice any of his discernment, insight, and independence —qualities that persist against the subtlest temptations only in a first-rate mind.

Notes

1. Infra, p. 13.

2. *Art, Scenery, and Philosophy in Europe,* Philadelphia, 1855; and *Literary Criticisms,* Philadelphia, 1856. Both were edited by Herman Hooker, and both appeared in subsequent editions.

3. In two volumes, Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard; the London publishers were Wiley & Putnam.

4. *The Expositor,* I (December 8, 1938), 11.

5. *The New Yorker,* VI (December 22, 1838), 221.

6. See marginal notes by T. O. Mabbott and J. J. Cohane in a copy of *Stanley* at the University of Illinois.

7. "A Chapter on Autography," *Graham's Magazine,* XIX (November, 1841), 231. Also James A. Harrison, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* New York, 1902, XV, 198. Wallace was known to Poe as "William Landor."

8. *Le Système de politique positive,* III, Paris, 1851–54.

9. "Memoir" in *Art, Scenery, and Philosophy in Europe,* xvi.

10. This, as well as all other letters that I quote here in full or in part, is owned by the Boston Public Library.

Whatever romantic feelings this reference to "Miss Forester" may suggest on Wallace's part, she soon fell sufficiently in love with the Baptist missionary, Adoniram Judson, to give up her literary career and follow him to Burma.

11. Apparently the quarterly was never launched. In the summer of 1850 Griswold started the *International Magazine,* but its character does not resemble what Wallace proposes in these letters.

12. Philadelphia, Carey & Hart, 1847, in two vols.

13. Philadelphia, Carey & Hart, 1848, in two vols. For a discussion of Wallace's authorship, see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold,* Nashville, Tenn., 1943, pp. 135 and 279.

14. Also quoted in W. M. Griswold, *Passages from the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold,* Cambridge, Mass., 1898, pp. 245–6.

15. "Can the Monopoly Lawfully be Abolished?" pamphlet, April 20, April 27, and May 4, Burlington, N. J., 1849.

16. James D. Nourse, whom Wallace had met through George P. Morris, was the author of *Remarks on the Past,* Louisville, Ky., 1847.

By "misfortunes" Wallace refers to Hoffman's insanity, which caused the poet to spend the remaining thirty-five years of his life in an asylum.

17. Attached to this letter are Dr. Binney's memoir and biographical data on Samuel Eddy (1769–1839), both in an unidentified hand.

The postscript shows a characteristic concern on Wallace's part for being sent proofs of his writings.

18. This letter is neither signed nor dated. The handwriting, however, is Wallace's and on the back of the letter appears in pencil: "Wal." On November 27, 1849, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* advertised Dana's series of eight lectures beginning that evening, which seems to date Wallace's letter at least as to season and year.

19. The reference is to Willis's controversy with "Quispiam" in the New York *Tribune* from October 16 to 19, 1849, which began over art but soon degenerated into a question of Willis's morals.

20. Wallace's note to Graham, which is quoted in *Passages from the Correspondence . . . of . . . Griswold,* p. 253, begins, "I enclose the notice upon Dr. Griswold for your gallery," but I have not been able to find any kind of "Gallery" published by W. H. Graham.

21. Quoted also, in part, in *Passages from the Correspondence . . . of . . . Griswold,* pp. 259–60.

22. Wallace's article on Washington Irving appeared while Wallace was in Europe, in *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art,* VII (Nov., 1850), 288–98. Griswold was apparently instrumental in placing it.

The April number of the *Southern Literary Messenger* for 1850 (XVI, 231–40) carried a reprint of Wallace's review of Griswold's *Prose Writers of America,* a third edition of which had just come out. Some of Wallace's remarks were complimentary to Catharine M. Sedgwick.

23. See especially Killis Campbell, *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies,* Cambridge, Mass., 1933; A. H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography,* New York, 1941; and Bayless.

24. *Knickerbocker Magazine,* XXXVI (Aug., 1850), 162–72; reprinted, *Home Journal,* September 28, 1850; reprinted, *Literary Criticisms,* pp. 225–243.

25. J. W. Ostrom, *The Letters of Poe,* Cambridge, Mass., 1948, I, p. 174.

26. Willis's, Graham's, and Neal's articles appeared in the *Home Journal,* October 20, 1849; *Graham's Magazine,* XXXVI (March, 1850), 224–26; and the Portland *Advertiser,* April 26, 1850, respectively.

27. The references are to Richard H. Dana, Sr. and John Simms Riddle, Wallace's brother-in-law.

28. For Joseph Henry Allen's role in the development of Positivism in America, see R. L. Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States (1816–1853),* Cambridge, Mass., 1936, a work containing many references also to Wallace.

Josiah Holbrook of the American Lyceum

By VERN WAGNER

JOSIAH HOLBROOK established the American Lyceum system. He named it, laid out the plans, organized innumerable lyceum units, and devoted most of his adult years to these "popular associations for the diffusion of scientific knowledge connected with useful arts."[1] Holbrook was born in 1788 in Derby, Connecticut, grew up there, and was graduated from Yale in 1810. He married in 1815 and fathered two sons, Alfred and Dwight. The first became a well-known educator, the second an inventor and manufacturer of school apparatus. Holbrook's wife died in 1819 and he never married again.

Soon after graduation from Yale, Holbrook conceived a plan to combine work and study in an agricultural school for boys. He set up the school on his father's farm, but, like so many of his later educational schemes, the application was not so successful as the theory, and the school apparently failed in 1819. From then until 1824 little is known of Holbrook's activities except that he did attend Professor Silliman's science lectures at New Haven. In 1824 in partnership with his brother-in-law, the Reverend Truman Coe, he organized a second school in Derby where pupils could learn by practice. The students went on geological excursions and learned soil analysis and mechanics through actual farming operations. They made surveying trips and engaged in road-building. Holbrook himself gave lectures on botany, astronomy, physics, and chemistry, demonstrating the principles of the latter with apparatus of his own construction. The school lasted until the fall of 1825. A year or so later Holbrook moved to Boston.

Inherent in these first schools was the principal idea Holbrook later promoted in his lyceums: education should be based on science, practical application, and self-support. He saw that scientific training was beyond the resources of the public schools because teachers had no training in science; nor were textbooks or scientific apparatus available. What was

needed first was a special system of scientific education for adults.

This system he provided in the detailed plan for the American Lyceum published in the October, 1826, issue of William Russell's *American Journal of Education.* It resulted in the establishment of some three thousand lyceums in the next ten years, beginning with Holbrook's organization in November of 1826 of the "Millbury [Massachusetts] Branch No 1 of the American Lyceum." It was a plan founded primarily on "mutual instruction in the sciences," but in it Holbrook had combined notions for adult education developed in various clubs, debating societies, libraries, museums, historical societies, and mechanics institutes. One item in the plan especially reflects Holbrook's career:

> The society, as they find it convenient, shall procure books, apparatus for illustrating the sciences, a cabinet of minerals, and other articles of natural or artificial production.

With dues only one dollar per year, not many books could be bought. A cabinet of minerals was only a collection of rocks. But where could the "apparatus" be procured? There was none to be had in America at the time.

In 1829 the *North American Review* lamented the lack of scientific equipment, urging that some individual undertake its manufacture and thus earn not only compensation but gratitude. It noted: "Mr. Josiah Holbrook of Boston has advertised that he is prepared to furnish apparatus for lectures on mineralogy, electricity, galvanism, geometry, hydrostatics, astronomy, chemistry, and mechanics . . ."[4] Holbrook, indeed, had been so prepared for two or three years. His son later wrote that he had reduced "the price of an outfit from thousands to tens of dollars, thus bringing the actualities of scientific work within the reach of lyceums and the pupils of public schools."

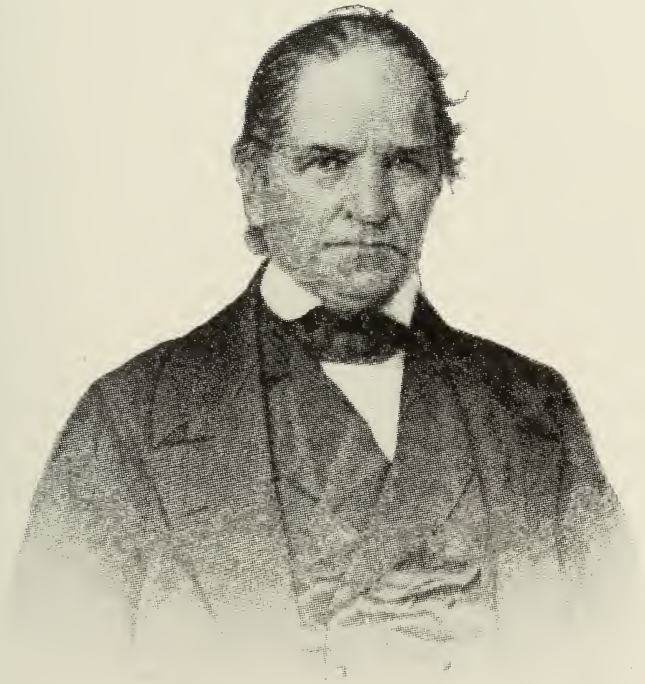
Shortly after moving to Boston, perhaps in 1826, Holbrook opened his factory, employing cabinet makers, trimmers, a clock-maker, an engraver, a water colorist, a marbler, and a molder, to construct various pieces of "apparatus." There was an orrery for $10 — a school size for $3, and a lyceum size for $12. (Until Holbrook produced his, the only ones to be had came from Europe.) A Holbrook school globe sold for only

$1.50, a hydrostatic bellows for $3, a pyrometer (heat-measurer) for $2, a lamp-stand for $2, a "seasons" (sun, moon, and earth on a stand to demonstrate the cause of summer, winter, day, and night) for $3.25, mechanical powers — levers, pulleys, screw, and an inclined plane — for $12; geometricals — cones, spheres, cylinders — for $4; an arithmeticon (a card with 144 dots in squares), a set of geometrical diagrams (horizontal and curved lines, etc.) and easy lessons in geometry, all for 1¢ and 2¢ each. A pneumatic cistern and a tide dial were also available, as were "telurians" and "arithometers" (abacuses). A full set of this apparatus cost only $60. A set for schools to illustrate geometry, arithmetic, geography, and astronomy cost $10. A set of family apparatus — which Holbrook enticingly called "intellectual toys" — consisting of an alphabet, numbers, and simple arithmetic, and figures on geometry and geography, cost only $5.

The factory was a success — Holbrook had accumulated over $20,000 in cash and stock by about 1834. And one later result was to have his name associated with school apparatus: in 1880 a Chicago judge ruled that "Holbrook" had become public property since it had been applied to school apparatus for so long and by so many firms.[3] Another result was Holbrook's reputation as an inventor. A biographical sketch by Alfred Holbrook refers to his father as "the well known philanthropist . . . who did so much in the way of invention."[4]

But the apparatus factory has also injured Holbrook's reputation. In a virulent invective against the "American Lyceum" in 1836, the editor of the *Family Magazine* of New York declared:

> Mr. H. of Boston, most decidedly a great literary quack, invented some machines or instruments, called a school apparatus, that might facilitate as he very naturally thought the method of instruction in common schools and . . . [lyceums] . . . A very laudable undertaking, one would think, and one which might imply in this case a generous sacrifice to science and education . . . [But] in organizing the Lyceum, Mr. H. with a very modest precaution, directed the proceedings with especial reference to the certain disposition of his school apparatus. This apparatus, therefore, was made the most indispensable article in the constitution of the society, and its purchase the first and most essential outlay. As Mr. H. progressed in his philanthropick travels, the multiplication of



A Portrait of Josiah Holbrook

town lyceums afforded gratifying encouragement to his efforts, the corresponding sale of the school apparatus was flattering to his own opinion of its excellence, and the profits resulting therefrom were abundantly pleasant and particularly convenient.[5]

TO promote his commercial enterprise as well as his general educational ideas, Holbrook became a propagandist. From 1826 on he published many pamphlets urging the establishment of lyceums; magazine articles on various education subjects; periodical tracts (*Scientific Tracts,* 1830, and *Penny Tracts,* 1833) on science and "useful knowledge"; and several books on the fine arts, drawing, and geology. Of all these publications, the most interesting is his magazine, the *Family Lyceum* (1832-33). Week after week, column after column, he turned it out.

Trading on what "must be of common interest to every member of civilized society, to every man, woman and child," he sought to present the "fundamental precepts of science" and the "principles and operations of the useful arts." Thus the *Family Lyceum* is a compendium of simple knowledge. In one issue, for example, there is a long article on glass, the report of a geological excursion, an article under the heading "Geometry" on parallelepipeds, and articles on water, granite, cork, India rubber or gum elastic, sponges, Galileo, dancing, political economy, the progress of the arts, and school statistics from Germany, Sweden, and Greece. And there is an article on geology as a subject for schools, and finally a column of questions based on the preceding issue.

Besides scientific material — and some insertions to sell his apparatus — Holbrook printed articles on common education and morality. He also published suggestions to improve lyceums. One was the plan for a two-story lyceum building suitable to every village and town. He proved that if an average town would eliminate the tavern and build a lyceum it would save exactly $2,349.40 a year.

Another of his plans was to equip the universe with Bibles. In the first issue of his *Family Lyceum* he had suggested a weekly contribution from pupils to their teacher. A year later he wrote, "We hope to see the time when every child in our

land, will contribute one cent a week at least for benevolent objects." Two months later he declared that one cent a week (at most two cents) would in a year's time procure for their instructor a copy of *Hall's Lectures to School Teachers*. Twenty-five cents from each pupil would procure a set of apparatus . . . One cent from each of the four millions of children in the United States would buy four hundred thousand Testaments to send to degraded Asia or Africa. One cent a week for ten years would procure two hundred millions of Testaments.

In November of 1832 he said that the eleven or twelve weekly or semi-weekly lyceums operating in Boston were not enough. Five hundred social lyceums could be put into operation. A month before he declared that if young persons of ten spent fifty-two half days a year for ten years in studying at the lyceum, none could doubt that nearly all would thus procure a far better education than they could in three years at an academy, and at one quarter the expense.

A lyceum could furnish not only its usual fare, but also accommodations for a system of circuit teaching — for a daily school — and for religious worship on the Sabbath. Ideas churned in Holbrook, each useful, sound, and immediately applicable. In 1813, 1824, 1832, and 1834 he proposed his "manual labor and self-supporting school," calling it a "Lyceum Seminary," dedicated to the "extension, success and perpetuity of the Lyceum system." The seminaries would cost $30,000 each; the best means of establishing them would be through County Lyceums; since each of the 11,000 counties in the country was no more than forty miles in diameter, why not set up one seminary in each county? They could have a virtual, though perhaps not a formal, connection with one another. Through the manufacture and sale of apparatus, globes, and other tools of knowledge, the seminaries would continue to function.

As for these County Lyceums, they could also establish circuit schools and museums and itinerating libraries — could divide books into lots, deliver them out to neighborhood lyceums, and arrange for their exchange once every three months.[6]

Holbrook's enthusiasm was education. He seems to have had no interest in working politics, and considered Temper-

ance and Abolition to be partisan issues, which he kept out of his magazine and away from his work. But in the field of education he was a radical reformer. His son cherished his memory as an iconoclast, remembering that, though a graduate of Yale himself and able to send his sons to college, he refused to do so for fear they would be ruined. When Alfred was fifteen, his father proposed that he rise at five o'clock and study algebra before work. The boy did, mastering Day's *Algebra* in a month. Holbrook consistently practiced the key point of his theory: self instruction with self support — the principle on which the entire lyceum movement was founded.

This principle stemmed from Holbrook's sympathy with the poor and ignorant; thus his publications dealt with elementary material and he mocked class distinctions — deriding a prayer meeting where the "ladies" separated themselves from the wives of mechanics and domestics. He believed that in a democracy farmers and mechanics needed knowledge the most: "Whatever promotes their interests promotes the interests of the public . . . Mechanics, like farmers, make safe and enlightened statesmen." But his real interest was in everyone, and he addressed his efforts to "declining age and sprightly youth . . . the philosopher and farmer, to both sexes and all classes and ages." He did not subscribe to the popular theory of Malthus and Chambers, believing that the greater the population the greater the production of goods, that science could eliminate poverty by correcting mis-applied industry, and that this could be achieved through the diffusion of useful knowledge.

During the years of the apparatus factory and his publishing and writing ventures, Holbrook also continuously gave science lectures and attended various meetings on education, including those of the national lyceum after its organization in 1831.[7] In 1831 he was elected recording secretary of the Massachusetts State Lyceum, founded in February of that year; he immediately called the meeting to form the Boston Mechanics' Lyceum. Later in the year he gave lectures on lyceums during the session of the legislature. On a trip through the West he organized state lyceums in Tennessee and Illinois, and visited Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Kentucky. In July

1832, with S. R. Hall of the Andover Teacher's Seminary, he formed the American School Agent Society to encourage the labors of school agents and circuit teachers.

The second volume of his *Family Lyceum* had begun in October 1833 after a two and a half month lapse, but it lasted for only five numbers, ending on December 7, 1833. Holbrook then set about new activities. He had $20,000 and could afford to leave Boston.

During 1834 he went on a national tour. He wanted to make lyceums and scientific inquiry as common as public schools. He moved to Philadelphia, although he apparently kept his Boston factory. In Pennsylvania he succeeded in overcoming opposition to the whole notion of popular education by showing the *practical* value of education, and, as Russell writes, former enemies of education were heard exclaiming, "Yes, if *this* is education, we want it. This will make our sons better farmers; and they will know, when they are selling their farms, whether they are selling coal, and lime, and iron, too."

SOON after, Holbrook conceived his most grandiose scheme — the establishment of a Universal Lyceum for the entire world. He embodied his plan in a twelve-page pamphlet called *The First Quarterly Report,* a title which implies he assumed he would be successful. He named as president Lord Henry Brougham, the English educational reformer. The vice presidents were to number fifty-two, distinguished scientists and philanthropists representing all the countries in the world. Then he named thirty-nine corresponding secretaries, ninety-six corresponding members, and himself as actuary. The plan came to nothing, but Holbrook had more; convinced that *diffusing knowledge over the globe* (as he repeatedly italicized the phrase in his *Self Instructor* in 1842) would lead to the "redemption of the human family," he was not easily discouraged by unappreciative reception.

In his next venture, he became involved with a group of eccentric enthusiasts from Ohio. In 1834 he had met the Reverend Henry O. Sheldon, who told him of the plan for a religious community that he and a Reverend James Gilruth had,

each independently, come by during various interviews with the Redeemer. Both had dedicated themslves to a "Christian settlement to educate for usefulness here, and the preparation for Heaven hereafter." The Redeemer had told Sheldon as far back as 1824 the way to do this was "By education, moral, physical, the heart, the mind, the body. How can such education be most effectively secured? By manual labor institutions beginning with infant schools." By establishing a lyceum seminary, in short.[8]

Sheldon and Gilruth approached John Baldwin, the leading citizen in the locality, about twelve miles southwest of Cleveland. They succeeded in convincing him and others that they should invite Holbrook to found a "Lyceum Village." Holbrook came. Gilruth, Sheldon, and Baldwin signed an agreement deeding all their property to a community of "United Christians." They secured five hundred acres of land with water power, buildings enough for twenty families — who soon moved in — and the best grindstone quarry in America, property worth about $57,000. The community was named Berea, and on March 14, 1837, a charter of incorporation was granted by the Ohio Legislature to the "Lyceum Village and Berea Seminary." Twelve trustees were named, including Baldwin, Sheldon, and possibly Holbrook.[9]

What happened thereafter is doubtful. In the end, the land reverted to Baldwin — who had provided most of it to begin with — and he subsequently made a large fortune in grindstones quarried on the property. Alfred Holbrook, who went there in 1839 or 1840 to see his father, records that "several hundred" people lived there during the years of its existence, but this is probably too many; another writer puts the number at fifty.[10] Those who were there erected a building for a school and for factory rooms to manufacture school globes and other school supplies. But the enterprise was not successful. Baldwin himself complained that the people who formed the community were "too religious for any earthly use, and continued so as long as bread and butter were furnished to their faith and devotion by his work and credit." In 1842 the lyceum village ended in bankruptcy.

Other lyceum villages were also projected, one somewhere in southern Ohio and one at Westchester near New York, but neither was put into operation. When Berea collapsed, so did Holbrook's labors for such villages, as well as for lyceum seminaries and for the organization of local lyceums.

In 1842 Holbrook settled in New York as the central agent of the "Lyceum Depository" or "Exchange Lyceum," intended to serve as the "National Cabinet" which back in 1833 he had confidently expected would be organized by the national, state, and county lyceums. His design was to effect exchanges of plants and specimens of drawing, penmanship, and sewing between lyceums and among the pupils of the common schools. He wished to make these items the basis for lectures to create an interest in natural science.

Seven years later he moved to Washington. One plan he worked on there was to have school pupils present New Year's gifts to the President, cabinet members, and every congressman, each offering being made up of a map of the recipient's state, a map of Palestine, a sketch of a geological formation, a drawing of a farm animal, and a written extract from some ancient saint or modern statesman, or from poetry of a religious or patriotic "tendency." If each member of the government distributed these packages of juvenile products *widely,* it would lead to a liberal post office policy, for the great volume of mail would force lower postal rates. This mammoth exchange project, Holbrook claimed, would also create a pacific tendency between North and South, as in it there was no North and South: ". . . it would be a very decided, possibly a controlling, influence in settling the disturbed and convulsed waters now causing our country to reel to and fro." This plan failed too.

All his life Holbrook had labored to diffuse knowledge, especially knowledge of natural science, among the people. Unfortunately, his science was that of a bygone day, for in his lifetime the emphasis in science changed to laboratory studies, and were not based on collections of "taxonomy." Holbrook did not believe in the new approach, and as late as 1850 declared that the real professors of science could never be prepared by colleges:

My geology consists of facts, actual things, about the earth. Theirs is speculation about the mode of the earth's existence. Mine tells me what mountains are. Theirs tells, or speculates, whether they were formed this way or that. Mine gives certain and interesting knowledge to young minds. Theirs, to a great extent, is out of the reach of all minds, their own included.

Loyal to his theories to the end, he lost his life pursuing his own geology. In May of 1854, while collecting minerals from a cliff overhanging a deep creek in Virginia, he lost his footing, fell into the water, and was drowned.

*

The Library has a set of Holbrook's *Family Lyceum*, as well as many of his tracts and text-books. It has also a long letter written by him to a Boston friend from Savannah on May 16, 1834, giving an optimistic account of his organizing trip through the Carolinas. The records of the East Boston Lyceum kept during 1839 are of special interest. The material has been placed on view in the Treasure Room.

Notes

1. William Russell, "Recollections of Josiah Holbrook," *American Journal of Education*, Henry Barnard, ed., VIII (1860), 241. The basic account of Josiah Holbrook's life is the ten-page memoir written by Henry Barnard in his *American Journal of Education*, March, 1860, and a few pages of notes and recollections by William Russell and others in the same place (VIII, 229–256). The *Autobiography of Rev. Chas. Nichols in a Series of Letters to his Granddaughter* (New Britain, Conn., 1881) and the *Reminiscences of the Happy Life of a Teacher* (Cincinnati, 1885) by Alfred Holbrook, Josiah's oldest son, provide additional information as does a brief, unpublished account by Bertrand O. DeForest, President of the Derby (Massachusetts) Historical Society. Holbrook's magazine, the *Family Lyceum* (1832–1833), is the most helpful single source of information about Holbrook's ideas. No modern biography has been written about him, although Paul W. Stoddard's doctoral dissertation, *The American Lyceum* (Yale, 1947), contains some further data, letters, etc. (Chapter II, pp. 33–87).

2. *North American Review*, XXIX (July, 1829), 250.

3. Samuel Orcutt and Ambrose Beardsley, "Dwight Holbrook," *The History of the Old Town of Derby, Connecticut, 1642–1880. With Biographies and Genealogies* (Springfield, Mass., 1880), 562–63.

4. M. F. Andrew, "Alfred Holbrook," James F. Burns, ed., *Educational History of Ohio . . .* (Columbus, Ohio, 1905), 503.

5. "T.A.," "The American Lyceum," *Family Magazine*, III (January to May, 1836), 34–35.

6. Josiah Holbrook, "Lyceum Seminaries Addressed to the Editor of the Register," *Niles Register*, XLVI (August 30, 1834), 445–446, and "An Observer" [Holbrook], "Itinerating Libraries," *Niles Register*, XLVII (October 4, 1834), 70.

7. The national organization of the lyceum, which met annually from 1831 through 1839, has to date been considered the principal organization of the early lyceums. But an examination of the available material shows that the organization early turned its attention to the common schools, deserting the purpose of the hundreds of local lyceums modeled after Holbrook's plan as mutual educational associations for adults. Holbrook was not prominent in the national organization. (Vern Wagner, *The American Lyceum in American Culture*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, 1950, Chapter V, pp. 167–211.)

8. Henry O. Sheldon, "History of Berea with the Origin and Failure of the Attempted Community and Lyceum Village," printed in the *Cuyahoga Republican and Advertiser*, September 6, 1877, and reprinted in *Souvenir Edition: Historical Facts Concerning Berea and Middleburgh Township 1836: Berea Centennial 1936*, compiled by Willard H. Shaw (Berea, Ohio, 1936), 18–20. This curious document is confusing in names and details.

9. Judge Amos Richard Webber, *Life of John Baldwin, Sr., of Berea, Ohio: Philanthropist, Founder of Colleges, Towns, and the Great Berea Grindstone Industries* (Cincinnati [?] c1926), 41. Holbrook is not listed, but Webber lists only three of the twelve. (Baldwin–Wallace College now operates on the site of the old Lyceum Village.)

10. Sheldon, *The Lyceum System of Education* (1842), cited by David Mead, *Yankee Eloquence in the Middle West: The Ohio Lyceum 1850–1870* (East Lansing, Mich., 1951), 17.

Illustration by Silhouette

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

SILHOUETTE illustration, a specialty in book decoration that has not been used by many artists, has a distinct appeal of its own, despite its restricted possibilities of expression. There is in this technique a peculiar quality, quite different from the usual realistic or decorative illustration. It has limitations, caused by the total black surface which cancels much possible detail helpful in defining character and mood. But it has also possibilities.

The use of silhouette has been traced by G. Jacob, R. L. Mégroz, and others to the cave drawings of Altamira and other places, to Greek vases, Wedgwood ware, woven fabrics, and so on. However, the term has been stretched too far: it includes profile in full drawing and coloring, and silhouettes in white on black or in color. The originating impulse for silhouette illustration may be naturally found in the scissor-cut portraits. Such portraiture, which had its period of vogue, and is apparently not altogether over even now, has the advantage of a definite and single purpose. This is the representation of individual character to the fullest extent possible within its means. When it enters the printed book, the black silhouette must meet increased demands as best it can. The silhouette, in portraiture as well as in illustration, must stand squarely on its feet.

No more should be expected from, nor claimed for, this form of illustration than it can give. One writer (*Graphische Nachrichten,* July, 1942) was tempted to assert: "Silhouette in proper place has more, and more lasting, capability of expression than any other pictorial representation. It can never project itself into intermediate tones, but in its black-in-black must seize every essential of what is represented, and thus speak to the beholder succinctly, penetratingly, and precisely." This bit of rather myopic enthusiasm is shared only with reservations by Erhart Kästner (*Scherenschnitt-Illustration,* 1936.) The "succinctness" mentioned in the quotation is not the terseness and directness born of what Walter Pater called "the tact of omission"; it is, of course, the result of the limited resources in which

lies some of the attraction of this art. In its best examples one may admire what the artist has accomplished despite handicaps.

Silhouette illustration is not so much a matter of factual representation as of a fanciful excursion into the world of reality, which it suggests in muted accents, with no strong emphasis. It can indicate character as disclosed in facial profile and bodily attitude (practically restricted to side view, without plasticity); but the important elements of facial structural lines and expression, and the details of bodily form, even of costume, are mostly lost in the black tone. When silhouette, which offers no depth of view, aspires to background and foreground, as in the portraits of Dannecker and Angelica Kauffman in their studios (L. W. Rochowanski's *Die Holden Finsternisse,* 1949), the result is flat, with a certain insubstantiality which has nevertheless its interest and charm. So also for landscape effects, as in Emma Eggel's "Lear on the Heath"; the landscape-and-figure compositions of Karl Frölich, L. Müller-Heintze, Rudolf Koch, K. A. Wilke, and Alexander von Bernus (*Graphische Nachrichten,* July 1942); or the landscape indications by Rose Ziegler-Struder (*Märchen und Scherenschnitte,* 1928). Indication is really the word for such effects — suggestion, with a decorative feeling. Why not leave it at that, instead of expecting the mood in landscape with which, for instance, Charles Keene and A. B. Frost invested their humorous drawings?

Evidently, strict realism is not the field, nor the function, of silhouette illustration. It may well be accepted for what it is: a specialty of delicacy and airiness in treatment that lays more stress on grace of line and pose than on vigor of representation, on suggestion rather than on full realization. Limitations and possibilities thus recognized by the artist and accepted by the beholder, there remains an art with qualities quite its own, and away from the everyday. One does not look for a full presentation of the author's ideas and intentions, or of the minds of the people whom he presents, as in the case of Honoré Daumier, Adolf von Menzel, Hans Tegner, Howard Pyle, or A. I. Keller. There is instead the enjoyment of a quality that stirs the imagination, without complete statement, full details, forceful utterance.

Interesting examples of the use of silhouette for subjects ap-

proaching *genre* may be seen in *Das Steyrer Kripperl; Scherenschnitte von Dorothea Holzleitner* (n.d.), in which the local Christmas puppet play is recorded with spirit and humor; P. F. Messerschmidt's scenes of Bavarian country life; Harry Oakley's pictures of "tommies" in France, 1916; W. Eckstein's German army scenes in the First World War — all represented in *Profile Art through the Ages* by R. L. Mégroz (1948). Perhaps even more successful in getting the most out of silhouette for such subjects is Rudolf Koch in *Häusliches Leben* (n.d.), in which there is a great deal of grouping of figures. Religious subjects are treated with feeling by Dorothea Brockmann in her *Scherenschnitte* (1938); however, at times she goes beyond silhouette, clearing the ground of black and accomplishing the full effect of neither silhouette nor of straight drawing. Moritz von Schwind experimented with black on white, white on black, and red painted on paper, but neither he nor Wilhelm Busch, that master of linear synthesis, really adds anything to the record of silhouette.

The artist whose name comes most readily to mind as one who remained well within this medium is Paul Konewka. He illustrated Shakespeare's *Midsummer-Night's Dream* (1868), Goethe's *Faust* (English editions, 1870, 1872), *Falstaff and his Companions* (1872), etc., overcoming somewhat the failings of the technique without losing its inherent grace. One feels the aim at realism as opposed to the tendency to prettiness. In *Faust* the interest is about as much in Konewka as in Goethe, but in *Midsummer-Night's Dream* the subject, in part at least, seems to fit itself more to the process and treatment. The artist wisely avoided settings for his scenes, often placing his figures on decorative flourishes, thus indicating a certain aloofness from actuality. Konewka also did pieces that were not directly connected with an author's writings, such as *Schattenbilder* (1871), *Zerstreute Blätter* (1872), *Black Peter; Scissor-Pictures* (1870), an invitation to a "Künstlerfest," and a wine list. The art may perhaps be found most effective in such independent productions, as also in the humor of Franz von Pocci's conceits, or in pieces such as Richard Rothe's announcement of a *Kinderspiel im Zoo*. There seem to be indeed interesting possibilities for the use of silhouette in commercial art.

While German artists appear to have been particularly drawn

to the use of the silhouette, there is at least one notable Englishman who cultivated the medium. Arthur Rackham's illustrations in *Mother Goose* (1913), *Fairy Tales by Hans Andersen* (1932), and *The Arthur Rackham Fairy Book* (1933) are partly in silhouette; done in a winning spirit, they are especially good when they avoid detail and are not in large compositions — and best when used as marginalia or headpieces. This recalls Henry Turner Bailey's statement that "silhouettes are the delight of the kindergarten; the perpetual fascination of the grades; the solace of high school annual-makers; and the ever-recurring problem of the artist." His article (*School Arts Magazine,* November 1917), accompanied by reproductions of Elizabeth Müller's silhouettes of children, adds juvenile literature to the range of silhouette illustration.

In America a noteworthy example is *The Courtin'* (1874) of James Russell Lowell, illustrated by Winslow Homer. It was an unusual adventure for one whose fame rests on work of a very different nature. Homer went at the problem in the spirit of the medium; yet there is something about his shadow-pictures that edges away from what seems an inescapable prettiness. After all, one would expect this of Homer.

The appearance of sameness is not inevitable in this form of illustration. The artist's personality and manner of communication will show, even if not to the extent allowed by book illustration generally. If silhouette cannot compete fully with the latter in disclosure of character and mood, or in dramatic effect, it nevertheless has its field. Those who have used it with ability can well say with Musset: "Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre."

Legros' Illustrations for Poe's *Tales*

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

"THE Golden Age of Engraving," which reached its height during the latter half of the nineteenth century, abounded in artists whose work can be classified as masterly. Among the most noteworthy were Whistler, Haden, Fantin-Latour, Meryon, Millet, Bracquemand, and Corot. Alphonse Legros (1837-1911) definitely belongs to the group. It is not an exaggeration to state that there are few artists who could call upon a greater fund of knowledge, either creatively or technically; few whose work is more original, distinguished, or inspired. His complete *oeuvre,* numbering over seven hundred plates which, with states and proof prints, brings the collection to approximately eighteen hundred items, is sufficient to place him in the position of one of the most prolific and accomplished printmakers of all time.

He had an insatiable desire for thoroughness in developing a particular theme over and over again, a fact which is often confused with the volume of his work by students of etching. Because of his constant research, the artistic worth of Legros had at times seemed questionable. However, his reputation is well-established now, for time has placed him permanently through the acceptance of his bolder work and break with tradition. Once Legros was considered a pedagogical etcher due to his many years of teaching at the Royal Academy; yet his innovations have done much to develop contemporary printmaking. His work was sought after by famous collectors during his lifetime, which in itself placed the highest stamp of approval on his talent. T. G. Arthur, Stopford Brooke, Philippe Burty, Edgar Degas, Frederick Goulding, Seymour Haden, E. G. Kennedy, Frederick Keppel, C. J. Knowles, Howard Mansfield, Frederick Wedmore, and Frank E. Bliss were among the scores of admirers who made complete collections of his work.

Great variety will be found among the prints, certain of which depict nature and thus indicate him to be a realist; some

are subjects dominated by his personal impressions, which characterize him as a romanticist; while other carefully studied subjects demonstrate a technical severity which places him in the classicists' category. However, there is no sentimentality or any concession to ordinary taste anywhere. The subjects by which Legros' name will live are those etched with freedom, vigor, and firmness of execution in strong lines.

The fact that Legros was associated with famous artists and writers of his day speaks well for his intellectual attainment. Among his friends were Zola, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Champfleury, Monet, Manet, Leighton, Poynter, Watts, Carlyle, and Rodin. In fact, Rodin's first drypoint was done in Legros' studio in 1881.

Legros did illustrations for Champfleury's popular legend *Bonhomme Misère,* and in 1861 did eight remarkably powerful illustrations for Baudelaire's translation of Edgar Allan Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination.* The latter illustrations were very rare and little-known; several are unique proofs.

The eight plates executed for Poe's *Tales* — "The Black Cat," two versions for "The Pit and the Pendulum," "Berenice" first and second plates, "The Gold-Bug," "The Shadow," and "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" — are among Legros' most impelling and original work. Although his illustrations were never published with Baudelaire's translations, they stand out as masterpieces of extraordinary interpretation.

These etchings belong to the periods which disclose Legros' preoccupation with mysterious, uncanny, and ascetic subjects. They leave an indelible impression, and fit into the trend of morbidity in much of the art of today. Such prints as "Mort du Vagabond," "La Mort et le Bucheron," "Le Savant Endormi," "Le Triomphe de la Mort," "Moissonneuses Surprises par l'Orage," "Victime de la Foudre," and "L'Ambulance" are only a few that support this turn in Legros' mind and explain his reason for choosing the *Tales* by Poe as a challenge to his talent.

It is interesting to consider Legros' faculty of interpretation in the light of Poe's introductory paragraph to his tale "The Black Cat":

"The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar," an Etching by Legros

My immediate purpose is to place before the world, plainly, succinctly, and without comment, a series of mere household events. In their consequences, these events have terrified — have tortured — have destroyed me. Yet I will not attempt to expound them. To me, they have presented little but horror — to many they will seem less terrible than baroque. Hereafter, perhaps, some intellect may be found which will reduce my phantasm to the commonplace — some intellect more calm, more logical, and far less excitable than my own, which will perceive in the circumstances I detail with awe, nothing more than an ordinary succession of very natural causes and effects.

It would seem as if the above quotation might have been written to accompany Legros' plates. The etched work is as simply drawn and as direct as Poe's writing. The artist has gone beyond himself in the execution of this subject; there is a noticeable innovation in his modelling of form.

As one studies the separate subjects, one finds a fresh and individual approach to each. At first glance the quality of work in "Berenice" seems to surpass, if not equal, Legros' best efforts which are usually found in first states only. The sharply-drawn lines, keenly bitten, produce contours and a mysterious atmosphere in a miraculous way. He achieves solidity where a certain amount of shading is necessary; and with a change of pace, in the apparently same quality of line, he obtains results that are remarkable for their artistic interest, although severe and brutal.

"The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" is an unusual demonstration of force in the etching medium. It is detached from any sentimental associations, and is without exaggeration. This was drawn on the plate at a rare moment when Legros was wholly absorbed in his subject. Nothing but perfect communion between hand and mind could have produced a result so unexpected and startling.

The two plates of "The Pit and the Pendulum" vary slightly in composition but differ notably in technical execution. Perhaps the first plate is more fascinating with its parallel linear execution in everything but the trussed figure in which the lines follow the anatomical forms. There is little chiaroscuro other than the planes that catch the light on the nude form of the prisoner. In the second plate Legros resorts to

cross-hatching in the background and forward picture plane which frames the figure in relief, emphasizing the dramatic intent with almost unbelievable reality. If draftsmanship is the power of suggestion, these two interpretations are masterpieces of first impressions.

That Alphonse Legros was a master of his art is proven especially in his print "The Gold-Bug." The broad massing of lines supported by aquatint develop an effect of artificial light and deep transparent shadows. This subject demonstrates a change of compositional conception by the use of the combined mediums of etching and aquatint, which heightens Legros' instinctive selection of arrangement with dramatic effect. There is something almost sculptural in the solidity and third dimension of the figures. Here he is an innovator by the vivid exposure of thought, reminding us of the best efforts of Goya, Daumier, and Hogarth.

All of these plates should be considered individually, since they are fantastic in subject matter. They presented a challenge which called for broad treatment and keen imagination. One might ask the meaning of these tales and Legros' interest in illustrating them. However, although incomprehensible in its dark dramatic record of unknown qualities, the work stimulates the imagination to a point of reality. It is as spectral as a bad dream; and Legros' prints appear as moving as Poe's writing. One may think of Legros' plates as a stage where Poe's tragedies have been performed.

The Boston Public Library has a complete collection of Legros' prints, brought together by Frank E. Bliss of London. A selection, including the plates mentioned in this article, will be on view in the Print Department during the month of January.

Notes on Rare Books

Jean Bouchet's Allegory of Foxes

ANTOINE VÉRARD printed in Paris an undated edition (placed by bibliographers between 1500 and 1503–4) of an allegory, in prose and verse, entitled *Les regnars traversant les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du mõde* ("Foxes crossing the perilous ways of the mad doings of the world"). He announced that the work was written by Sebastian Brant, who composed the *Ship of Fools* lately published in Paris. However, the book was not by Brant but by a young poet, Jean Bouchet, for whose little-known name Vérard substituted that of the famous author. Bouchet was incensed not only by this substitution but also by certain liberties which the publisher had taken with the text, and went to court. Vérard admitted that he had wronged the poet, and indemnified him. From then on, Bouchet gave his books to other publishers; but the name of Sebastian Brant remained on the title-page in subsequent editions of *Les regnars*, and so did a cleverly inserted acrostic in twenty-eight lines of verse, the first letters of which spell out "Jehan Bouchet, natif de Poictiers."

A second edition of *Les regnars* was printed in Paris by Michel le Noir in 1504, and a third by Philippe le Noir in 1522. In 1530 the work appeared under the title *Sen syuent les regnars traversãt . . .*, a copy of which has recently been acquired by the Boston Public Library. The volume may be unique. In his *Manuel du Libraire* Brunet, after listing the Paris edition of 1530 as printed by Denis Janot, remarks: "A copy of this same date, with the name of Phil. le Noir, was sold in 1824." The colophon of the Library's copy gives Philippe le Noir as printer, whose mark appears also on the verso of the last page.

The volume was printed as a quarto, with bâtard type, two columns to the page, with numerous ornamental initials. The title-page, which is embellished by a large woodcut, was printed in black and red type. Under the title appears the numeral xxx. According to Brunet, this was an indication of the number of sheets (*cahiers*). The book is illustrated with twenty-two woodcuts (including repeats), most of them occupying half a page. In the larger cuts appear the personified foxes in diverse attitudes: seated on a chair as a judge surrounded by his council; threatening a pack of dogs; a group of foxes dressed as fine gentlemen; one fox lighting

his way with a torch, and so on. One cut pictures naked sinners in a tub, with devils armed with pitchforks ready to cast them into the surrounding flames. Some of the smaller pieces depict various occupations, and one shows Christ with saints.

The book begins with the Latin poem "De Vulpe" by Sebastian Brant, first published in 1498. However, Bouchet's work has no relation to Brant's *De Spectaculo Conflictu Vulpium,* and is not an imitation of the *Ship of Fools,* except that railing against the evils of the world under the form of some grotesque allegory was a literary custom of the time.

There is an excellent biography of the poet by Auguste Hamon (*Jean Bouchet,* Paris 1901). Bouchet was born in 1476, and had his early education in his native city of Poitiers. In 1497 he moved to Paris, but from 1507 on he identified himself with Poitiers, serving on the municipal council, taking part in the presentation of mystery plays, and enjoying friendly intercourse with literary men — among them Rabelais, who put him into his book among the servants of Pantagruel. The great tension in his life came from the conflict between his arduous professional obligations as procurator, mainly in the service of the noble family de la Tremoille, and the persistent claims of his muse. However, considering the number of his works, beginning with *L'Amoureux transy sans espoir* written in 1498 and ending with his work on the *Annales d'Aquitaine* in 1552, he harmonized his two pursuits remarkably well. His death occurred between the first months of 1557 and the end of 1559.

The text of *Les regnars* opens with a Latin quotation from the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like my sorrow . . ." Then follow five pages of introductory verse, interrupted by a prose prelude in which the author sets forth the motive for his work. He is young, less than twenty-eight, yet he has seen much that shocked him. He has seen a son who torments his father, and one who killed his mother; a poor man who is prouder than any count; a man so seized with despair that he hanged himself; mendicant friars who had both money and houses; clergy who abandon reason for subtile wizardries; noblemen who so oppress their vassals that the air stinks and the sky murmurs; judges and advocates who were false, and procurators who were even worse.

Then begins the prose narrative — interrupted here and there by exhortations in verse — which introduces the allegory of the foxes. In a melancholy mood the author was seeking rest in a willow grove, when he came upon some foxes. He explains (referring to the symbolism according to Sebastian Brant) that foxes are

creatures of wrath, who do a hundred evil deeds for a single good one. The fox has a white belly, but appears red in back — a double-dealing traitor, who not only wears two skins but changes his skin often. Another time the author seeks distraction by climbing a high mountain, and there he sees a company of foxes carrying tails which they scatter — perhaps a caricature of the sowing of field laborers. The merchants of the towns are always grumbling against God and their prince. Yet the disappearance of distinctions is lamentable, "for at present a servant will wear his satin with more airs than the noblemen did in times past; and the wife of a cobbler will go on Sunday better dressed than the wife of a magistrate." But Bouchet also quotes Job as saying that the nobles are dead and their children are ignoble.

Still another time, the wanderer sees foxes running after cocks and hens — by which he means "warriors who commit pillage and rapine." Two foxes appear dressed in the cowl of a monk and holding rosaries in their paws. "Ask of a monk of St. Benedict or St. Augustine," the author comments, "how many dogs he has in his house and how many girls in his chamber?" Yet Bouchet, who as a devout Catholic remained untouched by the rising Calvinist and Lutheran doctrines, also adds: "Of the good religious, of whom there are many, I do not speak." And so the wayfarer wanders on, finding grave faults among all sorts and conditions of men. One type may still be mentioned, the so-called "yes-man." Of this obsequious creature the author writes: "If the master says, 'I am very warm,' he replies, 'I sweat'; if cold, 'I shiver'; if the one laughs, the other laughs; if the one cries, the other cries."

The second part of the book is in verse, this time in simple couplets. A prose prologue describes the origin of the work. It was during an illness which befell him when he was away from family and friends (in Paris, no doubt) that the author conceived the idea for his book. In the poetic section he adds meditations on different pursuits — on those of the theologian, musician, physician, and astrologist. On many pages the left-hand columns contain quotations from Scripture, which are elaborated in the right-hand columns with lyrical moralizing.

The volume is in a contemporary binding of dark-brown calf, with gold ornaments of *fleur de lis*.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

The Spanish Collection of Jesuit Relations

FROM the earliest days of the Society of Jesus, a tremendous volume of correspondence was carried on by the members of the order in the foreign mission field. Loyola himself instituted the practice, and St. Francis Xavier laid down explicit instructions for the accounts to be sent annually, describing the obstacles and achievements of the local outposts. From the vast accumulation of these "Relations" intended for circulation only among members of the order and those written for public consumption, hundreds of volumes have been printed.

The Library has recently acquired a fine set of the sixteen-volume *Cartas edificantes, y curiosas* published at Madrid in 1753–1757. This work is a translation by Father Diego Davin of part of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, which appeared in Paris in thirty-four volumes between 1702 and 1776. The last volume, however, contains four original narratives, concerned mainly with the Philippine Islands. The Spanish edition follows the French in its chronological order, the earliest letters dating from the 1690's. In the second French edition, issued in twenty-six volumes by the Abbé de Querbeuf (1780–83), the material is organized systematically, by location of the various missions, thus making it more accesible for study. This useful set, as well as an English volume entitled *The Travels of Several Learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus* (London 1714), a translation from the French, is likewise among the holdings of the Library.

The interests of the Jesuits were wide-flung, and the yearly accounts arrived from such distant points as China, Persia, India, Armenia, and Syria. Among the most interesting and valuable Relations are those concerned with labors in North and South America, of which nearly forty are scattered through the work. The earliest Fathers arrived in Brazil in 1549, while the first Jesuit mission in Canada was established in 1611. Indeed it is with the series of letters from Canada appearing between 1632 and 1672 that the term "Jesuit Relations" has been particularly identified. The Library has one of the rare original volumes, Claude Dablon's account of the years 1671–1672 (Paris, 1673), with a folding map showing the missions along Lake Superior. No notice of the Jesuit labors in New France would be complete without mention of the seventy-three volumes edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896–1901), in which are gathered together all available documents, in the original languages and an English translation, re-

lating to the region from 1610 to 1791. The Library owns one of these sets.

A letter sent by Father Cholenec in 1715 contains the famous account of the life and death of Catherine Tegahkouita (Tekawitha), whom he calls "The Geneviève of New France." Daughter of an Iroquois chief and a Christian Algonquin, the child was early orphaned by an attack of smallpox. Some years later Father Jacques de Lamberville came to the village, and under his instruction she was baptized. After suffering for some time from the insults of her pagan relatives, she escaped to the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier du Sault, to the protection of a half-sister and her husband. Her religious fervor was such that, after a visit to Montreal where she saw nuns, she begged to be allowed to take a vow of virginity. This came to pass on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1679. But so great were her daily acts of penance and mortification that her health was undermined and within a year she died. In recent years petitions have been offered for the canonization of this Indian maiden, known as "The Lily of the Mohawks."

Another Canadian missionary was Sebastian Rasles, who was killed by the English and their savage allies in 1724. Father de la Chasse, Superior General of the missions in New France, has left an account of this event. Father Rasles's proselytizing efforts among the Abenakis were so successful that the English were convinced that they formed a great obstacle to their design of invading the Indians' lands, and placed a price upon his head. A small army of English and savages, about eleven hundred men, attacked the village of Nanrantsouak where Rasles was stationed. The thick woods hid their approach, but at the first fusillade the Abenakis warriors rushed to arms to secure the escape of their wives and children. Father Rasles, hearing the tumult, appeared in front of his wigwam, hoping that by drawing the attention of the enemy to himself he could procure the safety of his flock. But, as soon as he was seen, a great cry arose followed by a volley of bullets. He fell dead instantly, at the foot of the cross set up in the middle of the village.

Wherever the missionaries went in those early days, they were faced with the possibility of sudden death. Two of the fathers were slain in an uprising of the Natchez Indians near New Orleans. Volume XII of the *Cartas* contains a long account from Father Maturin le Petit, Superior of the Louisiana Missions, to Father d'Avaugour, the Provincial of all North America. The earlier part of the letter is a detailed description of the life and customs of the

Natchez who, he says, inhabit one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the world. Their religion he likens to that of the Romans. They have a temple filled with idols, with a fire burning perpetually. The sun is the principal object of their veneration, and their chieftain claims to be the brother of the Sun. So great is the reverence owed to this chief that upon his death his wife and servants are expected to die with him. Father Maturin describes the Natchez' marriage customs, their procedure on the war-path, their medicine men, and finally gets to the more immediate purpose of his letter, the account of the Indians' unexpected treachery in wiping out nearly an entire French post including two Jesuits.

The massacre took place on November 28, 1729, after the savages, on the pretext of organizing a large hunting party, had acquired a supply of rifles, powder, and bullets from the French. Father du Poisson, who had arrived in the village two days previously, had just said Mass and was on his way to make some sick-calls when the slaughter began. The chief seized him around the body, threw him to the ground, and cut off his head with a single blow of his ax. M. du Codère, the Commandant of the Yazou tribe, drew his sword to defend him, but was himself felled by a bullet. The barbarians spared only two Frenchmen, a tailor and a carpenter who would be useful to them, and after slaying the pregnant women and those with small children, took the rest to be their slaves.

Among the Indian allies who rallied to the side of the French were the Illinois, from further up the Mississippi, one of whose chieftains had some years before been taken to Paris. His name was Chikagou, preserved by the present great city of Chicago. Several pages of the letter are taken up with a description of the piety and good character of the Illinois band. Chikagou, one is told, guarded carefully the magnificent tobacco pouch which the Duchess d'Orleans had given him at Versailles. No offer, however tempting, could persuade him to give it up — a remarkable trait in a savage for, as Father Maturin remarks, "their character is such that they quickly tire of what they have, and passionately desire what they see and have not."

Life among the savages of South America was no less exciting, and no less hard. The inhabitants of the mountainous sections of Peru were widely scattered, and they were constantly beset by heavy rains and floods, violent heat, or sharp blasts of cold from the Andes. Volume VII of the *Cartas* includes a long narrative of the labors of Father Cyprian Baraza among the Moxos and other

tribes, showing how the Jesuits were able to accomplish as much as they did. Father Baraza not only lived among the natives as one of them, but he had, as he said, to teach them to be men before he could teach them to be Christians. He instructed them in weaving of cloth, himself led a herd of cattle through the mountains in an effort to improve the nutrition of the Indians, and acted as architect in the construction of a sizable church, showing his people the arts of bricklaying and carpentry.

The arduous sea journey around Cape Horn, a description of the Amazon River navigated from its source to its mouth, and an account of the earthquake and tidal wave that devastated the town of Concepcion in Chile in May 1751, are only samples of the thrilling stories found in the *Cartas*.

Diego Davin, the editor and translator of this Spanish collection of Jesuit letters, was actually an Irishman, named James. He was born at Clonmel in 1707 and entered the novitiate at nineteen in Spain, where he died in 1760. His original intention was to illustrate the work with maps and "necessary and useful" pictures, but in Volume VI there is a note to the reader that the practice would be discontinued because of cost, and all illustrations would be gathered together in a separate volume. Accordingly, the set contains six plates scattered through the text and fourteen bound at the end of Volume XVI, five of them repeats. (However, Augustin de Backer's monumental *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* indicates the existence of twenty-two plates.) The majority of the illustrations are maps, showing the stations of the various Jesuit missions. They include India, Paraguay, and the Philippine and Caroline Islands. One of the plates is a picture of the ginseng plant, accompanied by a lengthy description of it. Another depicts the chalaoyer plant, from which the natives of India prepared color for their painting.

The great value of these letters lies, of course, in their authenticity. The philosopher Fontenelle wrote that he had never read a work which answered better to its title of "edifying" and "curious."

Ellen M. Oldham

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12.22.55: IM.

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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April 1956

Franklin Exhibit in the Treasure Room

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

THE Boston Public Library is taking a fitting part in the world-wide celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin, Boston's most famous native son. An exhibition of rare books, manuscripts, and engravings — more than one hundred items — drawn from the Franklin Collection, has been arranged in the Treasure Room.

In the Annual Report of the Library for 1869, Superintendent Justin Winsor wrote: "It has been thought that Franklin is to Boston of something like the same importance as that of Shakespeare to England, and I have lost no opportunity of securing what I could, illustrative of the man and his works, and hope the collection may prove in the end of credit to the city of his birth." Winsor's goal was greatly furthered by the acquisition, in 1880, of Dr. Samuel A. Green's collection of Franklin-liana, and later purchases have increased the total holdings. The October 1882 issue of the *Bulletin* of the Library published a Franklin bibliography, based on the Library's collection, of which Paul Leicester Ford, whose own bibliography appeared in 1889, wrote "Had I been aware of its existence before I began my work, the present list would never have been started."

Franklin was born in a rude two-story house on Milk Street, near the corner of Washington Street, on January 17, 1706, the tenth and youngest son of Josiah Franklin, a silk-dyer and tallow-chandler, who had emigrated from Northamptonshire,

England, in 1682. On display is a bill presented by Josiah to the town of Boston "for candles for the watch," as well as his autograph letter written at the age of eighty-six to a grandnephew still residing in England. In an effort to renew family ties, the old man gives many details of the history of the Franklin family. The letter also contains a reference to his brother's surveying instruments "which might fall" to the "portion" of the young man who also practiced that skill.

Benjamin, after a brief education which resulted chiefly in a great fondness for reading, was apprenticed first to his father and then, at the age of twelve, to his half-brother James, a printer. From the books published at this time by James, for which Benjamin undoubtedly set type, a number have been chosen for the exhibit. They include such items as James Hodder's *Arithmetic,* 1719, the first purely arithmetical work, and Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained,* 1721, which contains the first engraved music, issued in the United States. The latter is one of seven known copies. The *Discourse on Forgiveness,* a sermon by the English preacher Nathaniel Vincent, had been taken down in shorthand by Benjamin Franklin's uncle, also named Benjamin, and sent to his nephews who printed it in 1722.

It was while working for his brother that Franklin had his first practical experience as an editor. Since August 1721 James had been printing the *New England Courant,* a weekly newspaper. In February 1723 he was arrested and imprisoned for offending the General Court in its columns, and prohibited from issuing the paper. At this juncture Benjamin took over the management, and it was now his name that appeared on the masthead. But upon James's release the relations between the brothers, never good, became so strained that the young man, only seventeen years old, determined to seek his fortune elsewhere.

Arriving in Philadelphia, he found work with the printer Samuel Keimer. Soon afterwards he was sent to London by the Governor, Sir William Keith, with the promise of letters of credit for the purchase of equipment to set himself up in business. The letters of credit, however, never appeared, and

Franklin, stranded in a strange city, was forced to seek employment. This early London period is represented in the showcases by the 1725 edition of William Wollaston's *The Religion of Nature Delineated,* which was set up at Palmer's printing-house.

Enabled at last to return to Philadelphia, Franklin again worked with Keimer. But in 1728 he opened his own printing-shop in partnership with Hugh Meredith, a fellow apprentice — Franklin to supply the skill, Meredith the stock. From then on until 1749, either alone or with various partners, Franklin continued in active business as a printer. His financial connections, however, lasted until 1766, when the firm was bought by David Hall. From the more than eight hundred imprints of the Franklin publishing house, the Library has perhaps one hundred and fifty, of which a representative selection is on display.

THE first recorded work of the little shop at "The New Printing Office near the Market" was a sub-contract job, the last third of William Sewell's *History of the Quakers,* 1728, which was published under Keimer's imprint. The excellence of the new firm's output soon won for them the position of official printer to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, an office which Franklin retained as long as he was in business, later also occupying a similar rôle for the states of Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland.

About the middle of 1730 the partnership with Meredith was dissolved, and, with the help of friends, Franklin purchased the entire business. One of the earliest imprints in the Library bearing only Franklin's name is the *Vorspiel der Neuen-Welt,* 1732. This, the second German hymn-book published in America, was produced by Franklin for the monastic society at Ephrata. The Library's copy has a contemporary manuscript appendix of additional hymns composed by the Brethren.

The press issued many religious books. An edition of Brady and Tate's *Psalms* appeared in 1733, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms were published in 1745. Between 1739 and 1742 Franklin printed fifteen of the twenty-nine books bearing

the name of George Whitefield, the Methodist evangelist, whose eloquence was such that Franklin himself was forced to empty his pocket "wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all." Among the Library's holdings are two volumes of Whitefield's sermons and part of his journals. It was in large measure due to Whitefield's letters that, at the end of 1741, Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, leader of the Moravian Church in Germany, came to Philadelphia, hoping to unite all the German Protestants of Pennsylvania into one group. Although his scheme failed, several conferences were held, the reports of which gave much work to Franklin's press. For the German books printed in Gothic script, use was made of various partners. With the help of one of these, Johannes Böhm, Franklin published in 1751 Johann Arndt's *Vom wahren Christenthum,* a volume of nearly fourteen hundred pages, the most extensive piece of printing in Pennsylvania before 1800.

The Library has also a copy of the *Articles of Agreement* between the Lord Proprietary of Maryland and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. Printed in 1733, it contains an interesting map indicating the disputed boundaries. Other official documents include two rare broadsides, not listed in the bibliographies of Charles R. Hildeburn or Charles Evans. The first, dated June 9, 1746, is a proclamation by Lieutenant-Governor George Thomas about the moving of troops from England to Louisburg for the reduction of Canada; and the second concerns boat pilots in Delaware Bay and River. A handsome series of thirteen Indian treaties also came from Franklin's press. On display is the Treaty concluded at Lancaster in 1744, one of the most important of all.

Franklin tells in his *Autobiography* that, shortly after the dissolution of his partnership with Meredith, he opened a stationer's shop, selling blanks of all sorts. The Library owns one of these extremely scarce items, the legal form for a bond, dated in manuscript 1751. The handsomest product of the press was Cicero's *Cato Major Or His Discourse of Old-Age,* translated by Chief-Justice Logan of Philadelphia, and printed in 1744. So proud of it was Franklin that he sent five hundred copies to London to be put on sale there. The title-page is in black and

Original Sketch for Franklin Medal in 1786 by Augustin Dupré

red, and the type was intended to be large and clear enough for older people to read with ease.

THE experience Franklin had had on the *New England Courant* was put to good use as soon as he had set up his own business. One of his first projects was to start a newspaper, but he was betrayed to Keimer who seized upon the idea and in 1728 issued the first number of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. The enterprise met with little success, and after thirty-nine numbers Keimer was glad to sell it to Franklin and Meredith for a pittance. The Library has an excellent file of the paper, especially for the earlier years. One of the issues on display, that for May 9, 1754, shows the first American political cartoon, probably drawn by Franklin himself. With the purpose of urging united action against the French and Indians by the Colonies, it shows a snake disjointed into eight pieces, each labeled with the initials of a separate Colony, and captioned "Join or Die." The *Gazette* became also a vehicle for advancing Franklin's business enterprises. Its pages contained advertisements for his books and stoves.

But the publication by which Franklin is best known by countless Americans is his almanac. *Poor Richard's Almanac* first appeared in 1733 and soon outshone its competitors through its aphorisms and humorous touches. Many of the former were brought together from preceding volumes to form the preface of the almanac of 1758, the last which Franklin himself edited. The collection, known as *The Way to Wealth*, as Franklin said, "was copied in all the newspapers of the Continent; reprinted in Britain on a broadside, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it into French, and great numbers were bought by the clergy and gentry." The Library has not only this valuable issue of the almanac, but also the rare 1738 and 1739 volumes and a complete series from 1746 to 1766.

Franklin's greatest claim to fame as a scientist lies in his work on electricity. The earliest printed notice of his experiments with lightning appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1750, as the result of several letters which Franklin had

sent to Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society, from whom he had received needed apparatus. Collinson, after reading the letters before the Royal Society, the members of which did not consider them sufficiently important to include them in their *Transactions,* handed them over to the publisher of the *Gentleman's Magazine.* The latter issued the letters in 1751 in a quarto volume which rapidly went through several editions. The first edition, as well as the first French and German translations, printed respectively at Paris in 1752 and Leipzig in 1758, are on display.

The Royal Society soon realized its mistake in thus summarily dismissing Franklin's contributions, and chose him a member without his application, even excusing him from the annual dues. The Library owns a notice of a meeting of the Council of the Society, dated May 14, 1776, requesting Dr. Franklin's presence. The fame of Franklin's contributions to learning later spread as far away as Russia, for in 1789 he was admitted to the Academy of Science of St. Petersburg. The original certificate of his membership is shown in the exhibit.

Franklin was far from being an exclusively theoretical scientist. As everyone knows, he utilized his knowledge of electricity in the perfection of lightning rods, which, however, some people considered a mixed blessing. In 1755 the Reverend Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, suggested in a sermon, published under the title *Earthquakes the Work of God,* that the terrible Boston earthquake of that year was caused by the electricity that Franklin's lightning rod had drawn into the ground. Fifteen years previously Franklin invented the famous stove named after him, the model of which he gave to a friend, Robert Grace, who cast the plates for the stoves. He did not patent the device, but promoted its sale through the booklet *An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-places* (Philadelphia 1744).

In the exhibition cases is a volume containing Franklin's own collection of scientific pamphlets, one of which, *The Philosophy of Earthquakes,* London 1756, bears an inscription from its author, William Stukeley, to Franklin, calling him "Father of Electricity."

HIS personal interest in science, and in education and self-improvement in general, led Franklin in his youth to organize the famous Junto, a club of similarly-minded young men. An attempt was made to pool the books of the members into a joint collection, which however failed. Thereupon Franklin undertook the founding of a subscription library, the first of its kind in North America. After a charter was obtained from the Proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania, rules were drawn up for the Library Company of Philadelphia, covering such matters as hours of opening (Saturdays from 4 to 8), borrowing by non-members (each must deposit security for the book withdrawn), and fines for over-detention (one shilling a week). In the showcases are the 1746 and 1764 editions of these rules. The latter contains a catalog of the more than one thousand books and medals owned by the Company.

Other important enterprises grew out of Franklin's preoccupation with education. In 1743 he drew up a proposal for establishing an Academy, but, as the man he had in mind to head such an institution was unavailable, he "let the scheme lie a while dormant." He had better success the next year in establishing a Philosophical Society. Unfortunately, he had cause for complaint for the members were "very idle gentlemen." A few years later his thoughts returned to the Academy, and he wrote a pamphlet, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth,* which, distributed among the principal citizens, was sufficiently compelling to bring in a subscription of five thousand pounds. Franklin's views were further expressed in the *Idea of the English School,* "sketched out" for the consideration of the trustees of the Academy. The opening paragraph demands that every scholar admitted "be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading and to write a legible hand." His main thesis was the stress of the *English* language, rather than the classics or other foreign tongues. The school was organized, buildings were acquired, and the Academy eventually grew into the present University of Pennsylvania.

So wide-flung were Franklin's interests and enterprises that it is almost impossible to fit them into neat categories. He de-

vised a method of reformed spelling, which appeared among his *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces*, edited by Benjamin Vaughn and published in London in 1779. It was his suggestion to use the veining of leaves in designing the Continental paper currency, to make counterfeiting difficult. The Library has a number of examples of such money, printed by Franklin's successors, Hall and Sellers.

He invented a musical instrument, the armonica, consisting of glass hemi-spheres of various sizes. He also composed a string quartet and numerous song lyrics. Some of these have been set to music, including one written during Franklin's second visit to England in 1757-62 and entitled "The Mother Country." Its first stanza reads: "We have an old mother that peevish is grown, She snubs us like children that scarce walk alone, She forgets we're grown up And have sense of our own."

Fond of swimming from childhood, Franklin wrote two letters on the subject which have become classics. The first, to Olivier Neave, probably first appeared in print in the London 1769 edition of his writings. In encouraging his friend to learn to swim, even though no longer a young man, Franklin carefully explains that the human body is lighter than water, a fact which will enable even the novice to keep himself from drowning. The second letter was written to Barbeu Dubourg, translator of the Paris 1773 edition of his collected works. In it Franklin tells a story of his boyhood when he used a kite to draw himself across a small pond. He concludes with the remark, "I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat, however, is still preferable."

Franklin's interest in religion is represented by the *Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer*, published in London in 1773. The Preface, the abbreviation of the Catechism, and the Psalms are from his hand. The Library has been fortunate to acquire recently a copy of this very rare volume.

WHAT can possibly be said of Franklin's accomplish-

ments as a patriot and a statesman? Year after year, thousands of visitors to the Treasure Room of the Library have looked for his signature on the copies of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution hanging on either side of the entrance. His earliest political appointment was in 1736, as clerk of the General Assembly, and from then on he was immersed in public affairs. In the same year he was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia; and then, from 1753-1774, he served as Deputy Postmaster-General for the Colonies. There is in one of the exhibition cases a letter bearing Franklin's frank.

His political career reached its height after his retirement from active business in 1748. He represented Pennsylvania at the Albany Congress of 1754, and in 1775 at the Second Continental Congress. For years he acted as London agent for various Colonies. On his second official mission to England, he became involved in the British government's attempt to impose a stamp tax on the Colonies. Although he stoutly protested the measure, upon its enactment he advised his countrymen to accept it peaceably — an attitude which, in view of the strong opposition, became unpopular at home. However when, shortly afterwards, the Stamp Act was being reconsidered, his testimony before the House of Commons was not only instrumental in causing its repeal but the text of his *Examination* firmly reëstablished his position in America.

Another important item in the exhibition is the famous collection of secret letters by Governor Hutchinson and other crown officers which, uncovered by Franklin while in England, had recommended the sending of troops and men-of-war to Boston. Their publication in 1773 is said to have been one of the direct causes of the Boston Tea Party.

The Library's group of Franklin manuscripts includes a number of autograph letters, the earliest of which, dated April 26, 1746, is to the London printer William Strahan, a close personal friend as well as a business acquaintance. Commenting on the nine months' silence from his friend, Franklin was apprehensive lest "Death had deprived me of the Pleasure I promis'd myself in our growing Friendship," until reassured by a communication from a mutual friend. Another letter,

written from London in 1761, assures his partner David Hall that he will "take care to send the Lower Case Brevier that you write for."

Political letters include one, which is apparently unpublished, to Richard Partridge, a London agent of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Dated November 27, 1755, it concerns the controversy between the Assembly and the Proprietors as to whether the latter could be taxed to help pay the costs of a militia. Franklin pointed out that affairs were in the utmost confusion, with the people "ripe for an Insurrection," and comments that if a governor of both discretion and power is not appointed "this Government will be the worst on the Continent."

In January 1758 the Reverend William Smith, first Provost of Franklin's Academy, was arrested and found guilty of conspiring to publish a libel, entitled *The Address of William Moore, Esquire*, against the Pennsylvania Assembly. Smith sailed to England to appeal the conviction, and Franklin, in London, took a hand in preparing the case for the Assembly. The Library owns not only a letter from Franklin to an agent of the Assembly, John Sharpe, recommending the retention of Sir George Hay, one of the most famous English barristers of the time, to represent it before the Crown, but also his own notes on the affair, probably prepared for the assistance of Hay. These point out that "If the Privileges of a single Englishman are of Importance, those of the Representative Body of a whole Province must be more so." In the end, Smith won his appeal on the grounds that, although his pamphlet was libel, it could not be considered an offense since it was published after the adjournment of the Assembly.

No exhibit can leave out Franklin's *Autobiography*, one of the best-loved books of American literature. The first appearance of any portion of the book was in a French translation in Paris in 1791. This volume and other rare editions of the work are on display.

EVERY visitor to the Treasure Room is familiar with the two oil paintings of Franklin that hang there. One is by Joseph

Sifrède Duplessis, appointed Conservator of the Museum at Versailles in 1794. Duplessis painted Franklin many times, his pictures being known as "fur collar" portraits. The other portrait, painted for Richard Oswald, one of the English negotiators of the peace treaty between England and America, was long attributed to Greuze. Later research, however, indicates that the picture was probably done by Joseph Wright, the first engraver of the United States Mint.

Two medals were struck in honor of Franklin during his lifetime, one in 1784 and the other in 1786, and both executed by Augustin Dupré. Franklin and the engraver were friends, meeting on their daily trips to Paris, Franklin from Passy and Dupré from Auteuil. The Library was fortunate enough to obtain, in 1888, a small collection of art objects from the artist's family, which includes the original sketch for one of these medals. On the obverse of the latter is a profile head of Franklin with the legend "Benj. Franklin natus Boston XVII Jan. MDCCVI," while the reverse shows a winged figure pointing with its right hand to a temple surmounted by a rod drawing lightning from a cloud and gesturing with its left toward a broken crown and sceptre. Around the edge is Turgot's well-known epigram on Franklin: "Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis" — "He drew fire from heaven and wrenched the sceptre from tyrants."

Another interesting sketch, although not taken from life, is the pencil drawing by Enoch Wood Perry, used for his painting of the young Franklin at his printing press which now hangs in the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy.

The first statue to be erected in honor of Franklin was given to the City of Boston by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, with the assistance of a group of citizens. Designed by Richard S. Greenough and erected on the grounds of the City Hall, it was dedicated on September 17, 1856, an anniversary of the founding of Boston and the Sesquicentennial of Franklin's birth. Among the orators on the occasion was Robert C. Winthrop, congressman and historian; and the Library possesses his copy of the printed speech, with passages marked for omission, and with the manuscript note "only re-

ferred to once during delivery." The ceremonies were elaborate, with the day set aside as a general holiday. They included a procession, an ode composed by James T. Fields, the publisher, sung by the pupils of the public schools, and a series of contests for the companies of the Fire Department.

Franklin died on April 17, 1790. Twenty thousand people lined the streets of Philadelphia to witness his funeral; the House of Representatives went into mourning for a month, and the National Assembly of France for three days. Among the many eulogies pronounced upon him, perhaps the most fitting was Mirabeau's *Discourse on the Death of Franklin,* published by order of the French Assembly. It opens with the sentence "Franklin est mort . . . Franklin is dead. He has returned to the bosom of the Divinity — the genius, who freed America and poured out torrents of light upon Europe."

The exhibit will remain on view until May 1.

Satan in Puritan Preaching

By EDWARD K. TREFZ

THE Puritan preacher found the devil to be the most useful instrument in his preaching. While it would not be true to say that Satan was the subject of many of his discourses, the allusions were myriad. The burden of Puritan preaching was the love of God made manifest in Christ, but the foil against which this was pictured was also present. Men were urged to yield their hearts in obedience to God; and the benefits of this course were painted in the most alluring colors; but this implied a resistance to and a rejection of Satan, and failure to do this brought consequences which were also vividly portrayed.

There is Biblical precedent for associating all works of evil, all immorality, all opposition to the growth of faith and the progress of piety, with Satan. He was a sinner "from the beginning," and those who commit sin walk in his way rather than in the way of God. To follow the devil in evil was, therefore, to be his companion and his disciple. This would lead inevitably to the damnation and ruin that God has justly prepared for the devil and his angels. If any clear warning could turn a man from this course, the interests of the gospel would be served. The ministers were eager that this responsibility should not be slighted.

Executions were timely occasions for these vigorous exhortations. Usually the condemned man was present in the service. Though he might be beyond hope of any reprieve from man's courts of justice, he was admonished to seek the mercy of God. The sermons were intended to have a wider appeal than to the condemned alone. They were obviously occasions for the minister to make a plea for the unconverted to turn from the way of the world, and for the committed who may have grown lax. These sermons, frequently published, enjoyed a wide circulation.[1] The minister's motives for publication can be judged from the words of Increase Mather, in the preface of a sermon, preached before the execution of two men convicted of murder: "If I may by this publication be instru-

mental to prevent any from sinning against God; and if the Lord will bless these poor meditations for the good of young ones amongst us . . . I have then my whole desire."[2]

Solomon Stoddard had no fault to find with preaching the love of God, yet he felt that the horror of damnation was also a fit subject for the pulpit, and could equally serve the interests of God's kingdom: "Men need to be terrified and have the arrows of the Almighty in them that they might be converted. Ministers should be Sons of Thunder. Men had need have storms in their hearts before they betake themselves to Christ for refuge."[3] In another work he explained that men need not have a "slavish fear" but a "cautious fear" of hell. This, he held, would lead them to avoid the paths that lead to hell even as the fear of a parent's displeasure often keeps children from doing things they ought not, or the fear of the justice of magistrates holds citizens in line with the law.[4] He also believed that while the ministry of comfort for the saints was important, the fact was that there were very few saints in many congregations. Most of the people, even in the churches, were in a perishing condition. Jesus himself often put men in mind of hell and the day of Judgment; Paul clearly was aware of the "terror of the Lord"; and since most Christians so-called were unaware of their predicament, the need to awaken and terrify was urgent.[5] This was not an aberration of the thinking prevalent during the second generation. Thomas Hooker saw a "useful word of terror" in the words of Jesus, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire" (Mat. 25:41) and in the threat of judgment for unbelievers (II Thessalonians 2:12). Similar sentiments could be cited from others of his time.

Such sentiments were evident even in the choice of psalms to be sung in the service. Benjamin Wadsworth believed that the Imprecatory Psalms should be sung along with the others. He thought they were either uttered out of "humane weakness, frailty, and infirmity" and thus ought not to be imitated, or were truly inspired by the Holy Spirit against all the wicked. He favored the latter view, but wisely cautioned that they should not be thought to apply to our enemies but the enemies of God.[6]

THE materialism of the medieval hell had given ground by this time, but the medieval imagery remained. Increase Mather admitted that the Biblical phrases describing hell and the torment of the hereafter were metaphorical; their use, however, did not diminish but heighten the realism of the picture. Metaphors were employed, he said, because the fire of hell "is more terrible than the hottest fire on earth."[7] Similarly, the most hideous tortures of earth could only suggest the infinitely worse agonies the wicked could expect in the hereafter. Cotton Mather reasoned that justice demanded a punishment in hell at least as formidable as the worst things which the godly suffered on this earth.[8] Hell was apparently thought of as a place as well as a condition. Benjamin Wadsworth's explanation of the catechism of the Westminster Assembly defined hell as "A place and a state of wicked souls after they are separated from their bodies; and the state and place of both their bodies and souls after the resurrection."[9]

The most vivid figure describing hell that is found in this literature is one taken from the words of Jesus, "the everlasting fire." Added details from the Book of Revelation gave the preacher all he needed. A lake of fire, fed with brimstone, burning forever, is as fierce and terrible a thing as the mind of man can imagine. To think of a person cast into such a lake, "incompassed and wrapt all-round with those tormenting, penetrating flames," this must needs be "unutterably grievous and terrible; no tongue can describe the misery."[10] This second death, which comes to the damned at the time of the Resurrection, was regarded as the ultimate of miseries. Cotton Mather remarked that martyrs have preferred any kind of agony in their first death to this which would be their fate in the second death.[11]

The justice of such a destiny for the damned was beyond question. If God did it, it was perfectly right and proper. Moreover, for those who deserved it, it would inexorably come. As fire devours stubble, so the impenitent will be unable to withstand "the devouring flames of the wrath of God."[12] The terror of the flames was made particularly vivid in a sermon by

Wadsworth: "How tormenting, how intolerable would a person count it to hold his finger in the flame of a candle but a minute or two? But it must be inconceivably more tormenting to have the whole man, body and soul, cast into a lake, or sea of brimstone burning and flaming, on all parts at once; and this to continue forever."[13]

Various devices were used to picture the eternal aspect of this misery in order to make its terror greater. Stoddard illustrated it by stating, "Add thousands to thousands, and multiply millions by millions; fill quires of paper with numbers, and you can't measure eternity."[14] Cotton Mather was no less eloquent when he said to a condemned man that if he did not find salvation before his death, his soul would suffer ". . . for as many millions of years as there are stars in the sky, or drops in the sea, or sands on the shore and yet be no nearer to the end of the gnawes and scalds that shall overwhelm it, than the first moment when it began."[15] The picture of the damned in hell was horrible to contemplate. Though they had endured its excruciating torments ever so long, the only future to which they could look would be an eternity of the same cruel miseries. Once man was committed to hell, the last opportunity for repentance had passed.

Other figures were also used to depict the horrors of hell. God in his righteous anger would breathe upon the condemned "as a stream of brimstone," there would be a "constant scalding," and with "flashes of hot lightning" God would be forever smiting those whose destination was Hades. In the day of judgment the doomed would see all the heavens aflame, and Cotton Mather believed in that day a large part of the globe would become "an entire Vesuvius for ages not a few."[16] Those who scorned the only help that could cure the bite of the old serpent must then be broken in the place of the dragons, and "nested where the freckled adders of the pit will be crawling and coyling . . . , world without end."[17]

Not least of the miseries of hell were the companions the damned would be forced to endure. Men who are now frightened to see the devil will then be "banished from angels' society and come into the fellowship of devils forevermore."[18] The filthy, the ungodly, and the perverse will be the only fel-

The Wicked mans Portion.

OR

A SERMON

(Preached at the *Lecture* in *Boſton* in *New-England* the 18th day of the 1 Moneth 1674. when two men were *executed*, who had *murthered* their Maſter.)

Wherein is ſhewed

That exceſſe in wickedneſs doth bring untimely Death.

By *INCREASE MATHER*, Teacher of a Church of Chriſt.

Prov. 10. 27. *The fear of the Lord prolongeth dayes, but the years of the wicked ſhall be ſhortned.*

Eph. 6. 2, 3. *Honour thy Father and thy Mother (which is the firſt Commandment with promiſe) that it may be well with thee, and thou mayſt live long on the Earth.*

Pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes.

BOSTON,
Printed by *John Foſter*. 1675

A Sermon Preached on a Day of Execution
(The First Book Printed in Boston)

lowship the damned will have forever. The devils who helped woo one into this inferno will gloat at his coming, and yet there will be cursing and upbraiding from one's former wicked companions for his share in bringing their souls to this end.

Once a soul is cast into hell, God has given it over to Satan's malice. The agonies that were suffered by Christ in this life and that are continually experienced by good men when God has the devil under control can give some suggestion of what will be the case when the devil is no longer restrained. Thomas Hooker stated that "though thou couldst scale the heavens with thy teares and shrill voice, though thou couldst be heard out of the dungeon, yet thy help is never the nearer, thy God is gone."[19] The most horrible aspect of this damnation is to hear God say, "Depart from me, ye cursed." Increase Mather said there is more terror in these words than in all the infernal fire and brimstone there is.[20] Wadsworth seemed to think that the damned would have a part in tormenting the new arrivals who regularly came into hell. He did not clarify this idea except to suggest that it would be in keeping with the hatred that abides in that dark place.[21]

Another torture would be the torment of conscience, and in some respects this was thought to be the most grievous of all. All sinners will be confronted with their sin. Conscience is a worm that will "byte" forever. The remorse over lost opportunities, over the repeated invitations to Christ that have been rejected, will gnaw at the soul from within while these other hideous afflictions rain upon one from without. It was for this reason that Increase Mather said it were better for man to be damned from Sodom or Gomorrah than from Boston, for in Boston he had abundant opportunity to hear the preaching of salvation and to avail himself of the grace of God.

The purpose of the ministers in giving these ghastly details a place in their preaching was obviously to frighten men to seek another destiny, but they were also convinced that by this means they were glorifying God. All the tortures of hell were just, for they vindicated His righteousness. Indeed the very figure of fire, which has always been the central concept in man's thinking about hell, was interpreted by them as a meta-

phor for the "wrath of God." Cotton Mather affirmed that it was no ordinary wrath that the hypocrites would welter under, but that "there are vast heaps and loads and weights and mountains of wrath"[22] that will be hurled against them. It is God himself who makes the sinner feel the "scalding strokes" of hell, and to suffer more torturous afflictions upon his soul and body than "running bell metal."[23] These punishments were regarded as entirely proper because the sinner had made iniquity his vocation. His torment was merely an indication that God is not only powerful, but righteous. God will be praised by all men, and those who will not praise him in this life will do so hereafter. Or, as Solomon Stoddard put it, "God will praise himself by executing misery on them."[24] Nehemiah Walter believed that those ransomed souls in glory would have an opportunity to behold the punishment of the wicked in hell, and would see in those inextinguishable flames an unending demonstration of God's unchangeable abhorrence of sin.[25] Even Thomas Hooker, in describing the day of judgment when the wicked shall flee, went so far as to make Christ say, "Bring hither mine enemies . . . bring them hither and slay them before my face."[26] The Puritan clearly believed that man was damned to the glory of God.

In the Puritan thinking there were levels or degrees in hell. The scriptural phrase in James 3:1, "greater condemnation," was thought to give support to the view that hell's punishments are not the same for all. The separation of the sheep from the goats would be perfect and accurate, but it was believed to be a prerogative of God to give each his due. Increase Mather remarked that not all men were equally guilty and some would have a "deeper damnation"; that is, they would be sentenced to a lower level of hell than others. Lest any derive comfort from this, however, he added, "Yet they that shall have the least will be miserable enough."[27] He believed that Esau would be damned the deeper in hell because he had a brother such as Jacob whose piety he saw but refused to imitate.[28] In like manner, a backslider would receive a greater condemnation because he sinned not only against the law of God but also against the gospel of Christ.[29] Frequently the preach-

ers inveighed against some particular sin that had them wrought up at the moment, threatening a place in the lowest and hottest regions of hell for those who offended in this regard.

BECAUSE all men have a natural fear of death, funeral sermons usually touched upon the terrors of the wicked as they faced this inevitable ordeal. These were placed in vivid contrast with the hope of peace with which godly men face the same experience. As death approached, the devil became unusually diligent, because this was his last opportunity. If a man could be turned from God in those last moments Satan would win his soul forever. However, for the godly the ministering service of the angels and the protective care of God himself would hold the diabolical hordes at a safe distance. Convoys of angels could be expected to escort one safely through the dangerous regions which must be crossed when death summons. But for one who had no such trust in God, death was the "king of terrors." The sinner who died unrepentant was cast into the devil's custody to be damned forever. This was one of the real reasons for the special sermon before an execution, as it invariably ended with a moving plea to the condemned to make his peace with God. Samuel Willard's plea to a young woman convicted of murder who remained unrepentant was typical: "I pray God that his terrors may make you afraid, and drive you yet before all hope of mercy be past and gone, in deepest sense of your unworthiness, to take sanctuary in the blood of Christ, where only, how much soever you have dispised it, you can obtain safety."[30] Judging from the confessions that were frequently appended to the execution sermons, one is led to believe that the efforts of the clergy were not entirely fruitless, although the language of these confessions often seems suspiciously ministerial. One suspects the ministers frequently wrote the confessions and the malefactors signed them.

If the minister is thought of as a shepherd of a flock, Satan must be regarded as a ravening wolf. If the minister is the watchman of a city, Satan and his forces are the mighty foes. The ministers seemed to be fully conscious of their responsi-

bility. They did not want any man to be condemned to hell because they had been remiss in the discharge of their duty. As they struggled to carry on their work, they interpreted most of their failures and disappointments in terms of Satan's opposition. No profession on earth was so subversive to the interests of his kingdom as that of the ministry. "The Devil therefore has a particular spight against their persons and ministry."[31] He creates ill will and prejudice against them, and once the people dislike their minister, it takes very little to irritate them. They find fault with his clothes, mannerisms, gestures, choice of words, the pitch of his voice, the logic or lack of it in his discourse. Thomas Shepard remarked, "It is strange to see how much small matters can gore if Satan's head be in them, and his horns set upon them."[32]

It was the opinion of Benjamin Wadsworth that adulterers, drunkards, fornicators, profane swearers, and atheists could come and live peaceably in dark regions that knew not the gospel, but as soon as a minister came and began to preach there would be a veritable torrent of clamor and opposition raised against it.[33] The influence the Puritan minister exercised in affairs of state undoubtedly led to much criticism and considerable opposition. The times were not peaceful, and many matters in which the ministers took firm stands were not supported by unanimous sentiment. Willard remarked that many ministers of preeminent standing in the preceding generation had been branded openly and plainly for the troubles in Israel while they lived.[34] He thought of such things as the work of the devil.

Not all of the minister's difficulty came from overt opposition. There were those of his flock who attended worship, but behaved irreverently in the service, some even sleeping during the sermon. The ministers never admitted that the reason might be that occasionally the sermons were dull; they had a more theological way of accounting for it. Since the sermon was the primary means of bringing the message of salvation, the devil would do anything to hinder its effectiveness. To cause the hearers to become sleepy when they should be giving the minister their rapt attention, impaired the growth of piety. Increase Mather observed that men are most sleepy just at sermon time: "Before

the sermon began they were not drowsie, and after the sermon is ended, they are not so, but just at that season, when they are called upon to attend unto the word of God, they are apt to drowse and sleep."[35]

To have anything but a solemn attitude toward the sermon was unpardonable. It was believed that one day a man would be held accountable for every sermon he had ever heard, and one of the worst things that could happen to a soul was for him to go to hell, as Increase Mather phrased it, "with a load of sermons on his back." Thomas Hooker described the rejoicing there would be in hell: "The devils would make a holiday over such a one and would taunt him by saying, 'What, are you come hither after all the prayers, and sermons, and sacraments, and admonitions, and so many labors of God's servants that have worn out their lives to keep you from hence?' "[36] To have contempt for the sermon, to ridicule it, was worse than to sleep during it, for this attitude showed a hardness against the gospel that was deserving of a severer judgment. That there were those who amused themselves during the sermon, and who even laughed during it, is indicated by a strong statement by Increase Mather:

> So I say, woe to you that laugh at sermons now, for you shall mourn, and never laugh more. When, wilt thou say? Even when thy soul shall be with Dives, crying out world without end, "I am tormented in this flame." And O think how the Devils will taunt and mock at thee, and say, "Why don't you laugh now? Remember you heard such a minister of God preach, he brought you the glad tidings of eternal salvation and the sad news of everlasting destruction, but you laughed when you heard him speaking after the most solemn and earnest manner? . . . Then will the tears of blood trickle down thy dry and damned cheeks for ever and ever, because thou mayst not be so happy as to hear one sermon, or to have one offer of grace more, throughout the never-ending days of eternity."[37]

Indifference to preaching of the gospel, which has always been felt by the clergy, was particularly noted by the Puritans who sought to establish a piety of high sort. Satan was seen as the moving power in such indifference. Using Christ's words as the key, "He that is not with me is against me" (Luke 11:23), they reasoned every man was of God or of the devil.

Those who were remiss in their attendance upon the services of worship, those who failed to avail themselves of the sacraments, gave clear indication as to whose side they were on. Increase Mather bewailed the fact that in New England there were many who had never seen a child baptized and had no idea what the Lord's Supper meant.[38] Such neglect of the ordinances of the church would not escape the wrath of God. Benjamin Wadsworth warned, "Those multitudes now roaring in hell, who once dispis'd the gospel as you have shamefully done; what would they now give to have such opportunities."[39] If devotion were neglected, the opportunity was opened for Satan to assault that soul with temptation, for the shield of God's protection was thereby removed.

Neglect to make a decision regarding salvation was also regarded as a result of Satan's work. To put off religion until one's old age was a nearly fatal thing, and all the preachers urged the young to give the morning years of their lives to God. One who waited might find to his sorrow he had waited too long. Thomas Shepard remarked, "Those thoughts which discourage thee from coming to Christ, whilst the voice of his call is heard, cannot be of Christ, but Satan."[40] To think that one can have Christ at one's convenience is to delude oneself. Such a notion is from Satan, and is his device to win a soul for his place of infernal torture.[41]

Another scheme of Satan's was to convince men that a little sin would not be regarded as important in God's eyes. Men who believe this, the ministers explained, take the first step down the primrose path to hell. As Shepard phrased it, "when the old serpent hath spit this poison before them they sup it up and drink it in and so thousands, nay millions of men and women are utterly undone."[42]

(To be concluded)

Notes

This article is a chapter from "A Study of Satan," an earlier chapter of which appeared in the January 1955 issue of this Quarterly. The author wishes to express his thanks to the authorities of the Library for allowing him to examine the rare tracts and sermons in the Prince Collection, upon which much of the study is based.

1. Thomas James Holmes writes, "The public eagerly purchased these sermons when printed. They were the 'murder specials' of the period." *Increase Mather, A Bibliography of His Works* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1931), 627.
2. Increase Mather, *A Wicked Mans Portion* (Boston, 1675), preface.
3. Solomon Stoddard, *The Defects of Preachers Reproved* (Boston, 1747), 10.
4. Solomon Stoddard, *The Efficacy of the fear of Hell to restrain Men from Sin* (Boston, 1713), 4f.
5. Solomon Stoddard, *The Presence of Christ With the Ministers of the Gospel* (Boston, 1718), 27.
6. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Psalms Should Be Sung With Grace in the Heart* (Boston, 1706), 55.
7. Increase Mather, *Several Sermons Wherein Is Showed,* I *That Jesus Christ is a Mighty Saviour.* II *That God Converts His Elect . . .* , III *That Godly Men Die . . .* (Boston, 1715), 121.
8. Cotton Mather, *The Valley of Hinnom* (Boston, 1717), 27.
9. Benjamin Wadsworth, *An Help to Get Knowledge* (Boston, 1714), 30.
10. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Invitations to the Gospel Feast* (Boston, 1715), 185.
11. Cotton Mather, *The Valley of Hinnom,* 23.
12. Benjamin Wadsworth, *The Sin of Pride Described and Condemned* (Boston, 1718), 26.
13. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Constant Preparedness for Death a Constant Duty* (Boston, 1718), 10.
14. Solomon Stoddard, *The Efficacy of the fear of Hell,* 26.
15. Cotton Mather, *The Call Of The Gospel Applyed unto All men in general, and unto a Condemned Malefactor in particular* (Boston, 1686), 45.
16. Cotton Mather, *Unam Necessarium* (Boston, 1693), 101.
17. *Ibid.,* 102–3.
18. Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert* (Cambridge, 1664) in *The Works of Thomas Shepard* (Boston, 1853), I, 44.
19. Thomas Hooker, *The Danger of Desertion* (London, 1641), 12.
20. Increase Mather, *The Greatest Sinners Exhorted and Encouraged to Come to Christ, and that Now Without Delaying* (Boston, 1686), 134.
21. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Invitations to the Gospel Feast,* 187.
22. Cotton Mather, *Batteries upon the Kingdom of the Devil* (London, 1695), 83.
23. Cotton Mather, *The Valley of Hinnom,* 32.
24. Solomon Stoddard, *Three Sermons Lately Preached at Boston* (Boston, 1717), 116.
25. Nehemiah Walter, *Practical Discourses on the Holiness of Heaven* (Boston, 1726), 89f.

26. Thomas Hooker, *A Comment Upon Christ's Last Prayer, In the Seventeenth of John* (London, 1656), 333.

27. Increase Mather, *Several Sermons Wherein is Shewed . . .*, 52.

28. Increase Mather, *Solemn Advice to Young Men* (Boston, 1709), 56.

29. Increase Mather, *The Folly of Sinning, Opened & Applyed* (Boston, 1699), 42.

30. Samuel Willard, *Impenitent Sinners Warned of their Misery and Summoned to Judgment,* (Boston, 1698), 55.

31. Nehemiah Walter, *Unfruitful Hearers Detected and Warned* (Boston 1696), 41.

32. Thomas Shepard, *The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened & Applied* (London, 1660) in *Works,* II, 23.

33. Benjamin Wadsworth, *The Gospel Not Opposed but by the Devil and Men's Lusts* (Boston, 1719), 32f.

34. Samuel Willard, *Covenant-Keeping The Way to Blessedness* (Boston, 1682), 102f.

35. Increase Mather, *Practical Truths Tending to Promote the Power of Godliness* (Boston, 1682), 198.

36. Thomas Hooker, *The Faithful Covenanter* (London, 1644), 38.

37. Increase Mather, *Practical Truths Plainly Delivered* (Boston, 1718), 215.

38. Cf. Increase Mather, *Renewal of Covenant the great Duty incumbent on decaying or distressed Churches* (Boston, 1677), 11.

39. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Assembling at the House of God* (Boston, 1711), 21.

40. Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Beleever* (London, 1649) *Works,* I, 234.

41. Thomas Hooker, *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn To Christ* (Boston, 1743), 16.

42. Thomas Shepard, *op. cit.*, 124.

Early American Women Historians

By ALMA LUTZ

LOOKING back at the gradual emergence of women into new and untried fields, one finds few historians. With their limited education and their sphere marked out by tradition, women had little part in early American literature. Gradually, however, their names appeared on volumes of verse, religious writing, drama, fiction, and history. Anne Bradstreet and the Negro slave Phillis Wheatley, whose poems were published in London in 1650 and 1773, were regarded as curiosities, as were Mary Rowlandson whose *Narrative* of her captivity by the Indians was issued in Cambridge in 1682, and Hannah Adams who in 1784 became our first woman historian.

Born and brought up on a farm near Medfield, Massachusetts, with few advantages, Hannah Adams, nevertheless, had access to books. Her father craved learning and cherished his small library made up of books which he had bought to sell in his store but could not bear to give up. These were a great blessing to Hannah who was too frail and shy to continue long at the district school and who was encouraged by her father to read. When she was sixteen, her parents boarded the young men who were being prepared for college by Dr. Prentiss, the Congregational clergyman of Medfield. Touched by her eagerness for knowledge, they taught her Latin, Greek, geography, and logic. One of them loaned her a handwritten copy of parts of Thomas Broughton's *Historical Dictionary of All Religions from the Creation to the Present Time,* and this gave her the idea for her first book, *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Religious Sects Which Have Appeared in the World from the Beginning of the Christian Era.* She earned a little money by knitting, sewing, and making bobbin lace, and this she used to buy the paper she needed for writing, cherishing every scrap of it. Dr. Prentiss encouraged her, gave her the use of his library, and wrote the preface for her book, doing his best to argue for the worth of a female's work, and showing a liberality and generosity toward women rare in those days. Both her original *Compendium,* published in 1784, and a revised edition to which

she gave the more pleasing title *View of Religions,* 1791, were historical compilations. They sold well, and their success led to an offer to teach the summer school of the neighborhood.[1]

While teaching, she conceived the idea of writing a short history of New England to be used as a text-book. She based her book on the histories of the various states, such as Trumbull's *Complete History of Connecticut,* William's *History of Vermont,* and Belknap's *History of New Hampshire.* Leaving the protection of her home in Medfield, she set out by stage-coach for Providence, Rhode Island, on the very unwomanly mission of looking up historical material, and she was kindly received. For days this plainly dressed, awkward, timid, but determined young woman pored over documents and state papers in the office of the Secretary of State. She also wrote letters to learned men soliciting information, among them President Ezra Stiles of Yale. She frequented the bookstalls on Cornhill although she knew this was no place for a lady; and she asked the booksellers if she might read their books and copy extracts from them. They were amazed but usually kind, and soon became used to the odd Hannah Adams. Bent over a volume reading and copying, she was wholly unconscious of the stir she created.

She quoted freely other historians, but gave them credit in the preface of her *A Summary History of New England.* "In abridging the works of those excellent authors," she wrote, "she is sensible of her inability to do them justice, and has sometimes made use of their own words. The reader is always referred, for further information, to those ingenious performances; and the highest ambition of the compiler is, that her imperfect sketch may excite a more general attention to the large and valuable histories of the country." Of course, she made the usual excuses for the work of a woman, adding, "Though a female cannot be supposed to be accurate in describing, and must shrink with horror in relating the calamities of war, yet she may be allowed to feel a lively interest in the great cause, for which the sword was drawn in America. The Compiler is apprized of the numerous defects of the work, and sensible it will not bear the test of criticism . . . She hopes,

therefore, that generous humanity will soften the asperity of censure, and that the public will view with candor the assiduous, though, perhaps, unsuccessful efforts of a female pen."

In debt for the cost of publishing her *History* which did not sell as she had anticipated, she braided straw for bonnets which were in great demand among ladies of fashion. Meanwhile she worked on an abridgment of her *History* which, she hoped, would be more acceptable in the schools. She ran into competition, however, with two astute men, Dr. Jedidiah Morse and Dr. Elijah Parish, involving her in a long-drawn-out controversy which became mixed up in the theological debate over the Chair of Divinity at Harvard.[2] Unpleasant as this was, it won her friends among influential men and women of Boston, such as Dr. James Freeman of Kings Chapel, William Shaw, later librarian of the Athenaeum, Joseph S. Buckminster, the young pastor of the Brattle Street Church, Stephen Higginson, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Quincy. Through their good offices, the school committee of Boston voted to use her *Abridgement of the History of New England,* 1805, in the schools, and the work went into a second edition.

It was a small book of 185 pages, simply and clearly written, giving bare facts and few comments. It began with the discovery of America and continued to the Presidency of Washington, closing with an appeal to the younger generation to follow the traditions of New England — "industry, love of order, attention to the promotion of learning, and a supreme regard for religion." The *North American Review* called her *History of New England* valuable and interesting,[3] and there were also flattering comments in the *English Monthly Magazine.*

Her next undertaking was a *History of the Jews,* and, needing many books for reference, she moved to Boston. The sale of her *History of New England* and its *Abridgement* did not provide enough for even her frugal living; but her Boston friends came to the rescue by inviting her to their homes, and by finally providing for her an annuity of $100 for twenty-five years. This financial security and the permission to use the books of the Athenaeum filled her with joy. That she was the only woman who studied at the library did not bother her at all; and

she was so enthralled that she never noticed the amused glances of the men who found her there.[4]

Her *History of the Jews,* in two volumes, was published in 1812 and won considerable fame for her in this country and in England. It was also translated into German. The *North American Review* thought that this brief, popular history was much wanted and contained, in a condensed form, a great variety of material not readily found elsewhere.[5]

Hannah Adams always regarded herself as a compiler and as one who had never written anything original. In her *Memoirs* she tells us, "It was poverty, not ambition, or vanity, that first induced me to become an author, or rather a compiler."[6] Her disparaging estimate of her own work kept her a perfect lady in the eyes of her generation, and with such a reputation she was able to open the door ever so slightly for women.

THE same year in which Hannah Adams issued her *Abridgement of the History of New England,* 1805, Mercy Warren published her *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution.* There was great contrast in the personalities of these two authors, between the patient, plodding, self-effacing Hannah Adams and the confident, socially prominent, respected Mercy Warren. In fact, Mercy Warren's social position smoothed the way for her in any new undertaking. She was actively involved in the struggle for Independence, and influential patriots were her friends. Samuel and John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and General Knox corresponded with her, and asked her opinions on political matters.

She had received an education far beyond that of most women of her day, studying with her brother, James. Her biographer, Alice Brown, says that history became a passion with her after she read Raleigh's *History of the World.* This interest was stimulated by an Englishwoman, Catherine Macaulay,[7] who in 1791 published in London the first volume of her eight-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line,* which was well received. Her republican sympathies endeared her to Mercy Warren, and the two women

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

INTERSPERSED WITH

Biographical, Political and Moral Obfervations.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY MRS. MERCY WARREN,
OF PLYMOUTH, (MASS.)

.....Troubled on every fide.....
perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken;
cast down, but not destroyed. *ST. PAUL.*

O God! thy arm was here.....
And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
Ascribe we all. *SHAKESPEARE.*

VOL. I.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY MANNING AND LORING,
FOR E. LARKIN, No. 47, CORNHILL.
.....
1805.

Title-Page of Mrs. Warren's History — *Original Size*

corresponded frequently, settling the affairs of nations and the fates of statesmen between them.

The "celebrated Mrs. Macaulay,"[8] as Mercy Warren called her, came to this country in 1784, visiting the Warrens and the Washingtons. Her visit undoubtedly encouraged Mercy Warren to keep at work on her history of the Revolution for which she had been collecting material. By this time Mercy Warren was well-known as a writer of poetry and dramas in verse, satirizing the Massachusetts Tories. Her *Adulator* in 1773 and *The Group* in 1775 were popular not only in Massachusetts but among patriots in New York and Philadelphia. Her *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* was published in 1790.

As the Revolution and the building of a republic had become the main interests of her life, she looked forward to the writing of a history of the Revolution as her crowning achievement. Her husband and friends encouraged her. Abigail Adams wrote her, "Many memorable events which ought to be handed down to posterity will be buried in oblivion merely for want of proper hand to record them."[9] John Adams often urged her "to continue her annals," adding that "no one had more authentic materials," and that he knew of "no one who would do it better." Another time he wrote her, "I hope Mrs. Warren will give my Dutch negotiations a place in her History . . ."[10]

There were times, however, when she had doubts about the reception of such an undertaking by a woman. This feeling was undoubtedly emphasized by the publication of two other histories of the Revolution, one in four volumes by William Gordon in 1788, and another by David Ramsay in 1789. Although the three volumes of her *History of the . . . Revolution* were completed in 1790, publication was delayed until 1805, when she was seventy-seven years old.

Dr. James Freeman, who had been so helpful to Hannah Adams, found a publisher for her, solicited a subscription list, and helped see the *History* through the press. The publisher assumed the cost of publication which was $2,882 for the three volumes, with an additional charge for binding in sheep or calf, and began to make payments to her after eight hundred copies had been sold at two dollars per volume.[11]

In her Preface to which she gave the title, "An Address to Inhabitants of the United States," Mercy Warren explained why she, a woman, had written the *History*. She had undertaken it because the mental ability of statesmen was taxed to the utmost in planning for the present and future; and because, if it were put off until later, she feared much would be overlooked or forgotten in the onrush of events. Even she with her intelligence, spirit, and proven usefulness felt it necessary to apologize for entering this field which was "the more peculiar province of masculine strength." She did, however, add that she persevered in this undertaking because she was convinced that "a concern for the welfare of society ought equally to glow in every human breast." She assured her readers that, although she endeavored to achieve "the strictest veracity" and to let "the most exact impartiality be the guide to her pen," she "has never laid aside the tenderness of the sex or the friend."

She began her *History* with the Stamp Act, recounted the military engagements to the end of the war, and continued her chronicle through the election of Washington, the adoption of the Constitution, and the negotiation of the peace treaty, not forgetting to comment on contemporary world affairs. Her sources were official papers, oral accounts of events, the voluminous correspondence which passed through her hands, and the *British Annual Register*, which published serially an account of the war and was freely used by all historians of the period. Bibliographies were not demanded in those days, but Mrs. Warren's wide reading is shown by her many references.

The importance of her country's experiment in government was always in the forefront of her mind. She hoped that her *History* would help the young Republic chart its way through the years ahead by giving the people a better understanding of the Revolution and the men who guided its destiny. She knew that the experiment was being watched throughout the world, and she wanted to help direct it along the right path. So she added many of her own good democratic "political observations," reminding her readers "that the elective franchise is in their own hands; that it ought not be abased, either for personal gratifications, or the indulgence of partisan acrimony . . ."

She gave vivid portraits of Washington, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, and of the last Colonial Governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson. Even the sketches of her friends were not wholly complimentary. She analyzed them fearlessly and frankly, showing up the weaknesses she found in them. This precipitated a quarrel with John Adams, who was particularly sensitive because of his failure to be elected to a second term as President, and was still smarting from some of the accusations brought against him during the campaign. He wrote her biting letters of criticism and self-justification. The correspondence throws an interesting light not only on their characters, but also on the diplomatic history of the times.

Mercy Warren's *History of the . . . American Revolution* was generally well received, except by John Adams and a few others who were offended by its anti-federalist bias. However, it was never in demand as she hoped it would be. A second edition was never issued, although her manuscript, carefully revised, was in readiness. Competition was stiff from the histories of Gordon and Ramsay, and from the *Life of George Washington,* also published in 1805, by John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. In fact, Gordon's *History* was rated as the most valuable source on the Revolution for over a hundred years, until Orin G. Libby showed that much of it had been plagiarized from the *British Annual Register* and Ramsay's *History of the Revolution in South Carolina.*[12]

The neglect by scholars of Mercy Warren's *History* was broken at the close of the century by Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America* and by Moses Colt Tyler in his *Literary History of the American Revolution.* Both recognized its value as a contemporary record. So did succeeding historians, Larned, Bassett, Beard, Kraus, and Curti.

THE next American woman to rate as an historian was Emma Willard. A pioneer in the higher education of women, she was obliged to originate a new course of study, and, as few text-books were available, she wrote her own. Her *History of the United States* was published in 1828.

Mrs. Willard had always taught history by means of maps and chronological charts. Her next step was to write a text-book as a guide and background for these maps and charts. Some of her more advanced students helped her with the research, drawing on what Mrs. Willard called "the standard authors of American history." (She did not mention Mercy Warren's *History*.) From the War of 1812 on, her material was based on original sources, and she assured her readers that she tried to be accurate and unprejudiced. Beginning with a chapter on the "Aboriginal Inhabitants of America," her *History* continued through 1826. The Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and Washington's Farewell Address were given in full in the appendix, so that the youth of the country could easily study them as their "political scriptures."

Her text-book was welcomed by educators, and newspapers commented favorably. The Boston *Traveler* said, "Bancroft has written us a noble history . . . But Bancroft's work is a grand and vast one, like our own Niagara . . . Around [this] waterfall . . . there smile beautiful flowers, sweet blossoms of the heart which only woman's delicate hand could pluck. It was fitting too that the intelligent young ladies of our land should have a history in which they could delight. But Mrs. Willard's work has not alone the grace of a woman's pen. It has other useful qualities. In perfect arrangement, comprehensiveness, and well-digested detail, it is the best book for reference of any published."[13] General Lafayette by letter endorsed Mrs. Willard's account of the Revolution, and Daniel Webster wrote her, "I cannot better express my sense of the value of your *History of the United States* than by saying that I keep it near me as a book of reference, accurate in facts and dates."[14] A later edition, issued in 1843, was used as a text-book in the common schools.

In 1849, she had still another volume of American history ready for publication, *Last Leaves of American History, Comprising Histories of the Mexican War and California.* This was followed by a revised edition which she called *Late American History; Containing a Full Account of the Courage, Conduct, and Success of John C. Frémont by Which . . . He Became the Explorer*

and Hero of California. During the Presidential campaign of 1856, when Frémont was a candidate, this book, just published, was advertised as giving an impartial, copious account of his career.

A *Universal History in Perspective.* was completed by Mrs. Willard in 1844. It went into several editions, and was followed in 1855 by *Last Periods of Universal History.* In the Preface to her *Universal History* Mrs. Willard recommends the study of world history to the politician. "No wise man," she writes, "presumes to form conclusions concerning the future destiny of nations, without first acquiring a knowledge of the past."

WHILE Emma Willard was writing American history without mentioning women, Lydia Maria Child published in 1836 a *History of the Condition of Women in Various Ages and Nations,* in two volumes. At this time Mrs. Child was well known as a writer of novels and as editor of a children's magazine, *Juvenile Miscellany,* and had just shown her interest in the anti-slavery cause by the publication of *An Appeal in Behalf of that Class of Americans Called Africans.* She is remembered best for her anti-slavery work, but she was a prolific writer on many other subjects. She was the second woman given permission to use the Athenaeum library, and it is most probable that she did her research for her *History of the Condition of Women* there.

The very fact that Mrs. Child chose to write a history of women, instead of a history of New England as did Hannah Adams, shows not only her appreciation of the importance of women but her independence. Yet she thought it best to state in her preface, "This volume is not an essay on woman's rights, or a philosophical investigation of what is or ought to be the relation of the sexes. If any theories on this subject are contained in it, they are merely incidentally implied by the manner of stating historical facts. I have simply endeavored to give an accurate history of the condition of women, in language sufficiently concise for popular use . . ."

Jewish, Turkish, Hindu, Egyptian, and Chinese women are given the most attention in Volume I, while the women of Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages take up the greater part

of Volume II, but some space is given to contemporary Europe and the United States. Wherever there are outstanding women, such as Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, they receive their due. Of women in the United States, Mrs. Child said, "Perhaps there is no country in the world, where women as wives, sisters, and daughters have more influence or more freedom, but it is deemed unfeminine to take an interest in public affairs." She also prophesied, "The time will come, when it will be seen that the moral and intellectual condition of woman must be, and ought to be, in exact correspondence with that of man, not only in its general aspect, but in its . . . individual manifestations . . ."[15]

Mrs. Child did not list any of her sources, probably thinking it unnecessary. Her book proved to be popular enough to run into several editions, and was revised and republished in New York and in England. While this is the only one of her books which she regarded as history, her *Letters from New York* and her *Authentic Narratives of American Slavery* are contributions in this field.

MARGARET FULLER also thought women were worth writing about. She had become famous as an intellectual through her Conversations in Boston, as editor of the *Dial,* and as literary critic for the New York *Tribune.* In 1843 she published *Summer on the Lakes,* giving her impressions of the West, the people she met, the pioneering settlers, the Indians, and the women. While writing *Summer on the Lakes,* she needed reference books and was the first woman to use the Harvard Library. In *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* published in 1845, she traced the development of ideas relating to women's place in society. She drew on mythology, legend, and ancient history for estimates of women, and she summarized the views of Fourier, Goethe, Swedenborg, and the Quakers regarding them. Citing outstanding women, Isabella of Spain, Elizabeth of England, Madame Roland, George Sand, Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Howitt, and Maria Sedgwick, she made this observation about Isabella: "We may accept as an omen for ourselves that it was

Isabella who furnished Columbus with the means of coming hither. This land must pay back its debt to Woman, without whose aid it would not have been brought into alliance with the civilized world."[16]

Her purpose in writing this book, she says, was "to show that no age was left entirely without a witness of the equality of the sexes in function, duty, and hope . . . that now the time has come when a clearer vision and better action are possible . . . We only ask of men to remove arbitrary barriers. Some would like to do more. But I believe it needs that Woman show herself in her native dignity, to teach them how to aid her; their minds are so encumbered by tradition."[17]

It was a courageous book. It proved to be her best-known and most important work, well-received here and in Europe. Mason Wade, one of her biographers, calls it the first considered statement of feminism made by an American, paving the way for the first woman's rights convention of 1848.[18]

THREE years after *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* was published, Elizabeth Lummis Ellet's *Women of the American Revolution* appeared. She was born and educated in western New York, and early showed an interest in history. Her marriage to William H. Ellet, Professor of Chemistry at Columbia University, took her to New York and later to South Carolina. Her book was published in New York in two volumes in 1848, a third volume in 1850. Parts of it had previously appeared in *Godey's Magazine*. It ran into several editions, and was reissued in 1900, twenty-three years after her death, with an introduction by Anne Hollingsworth Wharton.

In a readable style, Mrs. Ellet tells the stories of such heroines of the Revolution as Abigail Adams, Mercy Warren, Martha Washington, Catherine Schuyler, and others whose names are unfamiliar today but who made some definite contribution during the war years. All in all, there are 165 sketches in the three volumes. Mrs. Ellet sought source material for her book, not hearsay nor legend. She found the dearth of information disheartening. None of the published histories of the Rev-

olution gave any notice to women, not even Mercy Warren's *History*. Except for the letters of Abigail Adams which had been published, nothing which described the trials of women during the war had reached the public. Mrs. Ellet examined all the letters she could lay her hands on, for she believed letters to be "the most faithful transcripts of the heart and mind of individuals," but she added, "How small a portion remains in this . . . manuscript destroying generation."[19]

In 1850 Mrs. Ellet published *Domestic History of the American Revolution*. Her purpose was "to portray the social and domestic condition of the times, and the state of feeling among the people, with something of the services and experience of a class not usually noticed among those whose names live in historical remembrance." It was her belief that "a really better idea of the Revolution may be obtained from anecdotes that exhibit the spirit which was abroad among all classes, and which prompted to action, than from the most precise statement of the number engaged, or of killed and wounded." Outlining the main events of the Revolution, she related along with them incidents which happened in families and in which women were involved. She showed how often women made valuable and courageous contributions to the cause.[20] The work rated this comment from Charles and Mary Beard, "Complacent political and military historians, following traditions, had left women out of their chronicles of the American Revolution. Mrs. Ellet in a domestic history of the cataclysm restored the balance of justice."[21]

Pioneer Women of the West followed in 1852, and was sufficiently popular to merit more than one edition. All but two of the sketches were prepared from records furnished by relatives and friends of women who settled on the frontier. As a background, she added, as she tells us, "descriptions of the domestic life and manners of the pioneers . . . illustrative anecdotes from reliable sources," and notice "of such political events as had an influence on the condition of the country." Only a few names of the women mentioned are recognized today, but their stories give an idea of their courage, stamina, and ingenuity.

In 1859 she added to her list of useful books *Women Artists*

in All Ages and Countries, in 1867, *Queens of American Society,* and in 1869, *Court Circles of the Republic.* The last, according to its sub-title, is devoted to "the beauties and celebrities of the nation; illustrating life and society under eighteen presidents; describing the social features of successive administrations from Washington to Grant." More than any other woman before her, or for many years after, Elizabeth Ellet gave her readers some conception of women's rôle in American history.

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Piranesi's Prints of Paestum

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI, historian, archaeologist, and master etcher, considered by experts and connoisseurs as the Rembrandt of architecture, was born in Venice on October 4, 1720. His maternal uncle, a well-known architect and engineer, recognized the youth's talent and precocious aptitude for drawing, and gave him his first instruction in the rudiments of the fine arts. Before long, Piranesi's knowledge had reached a high degree of artistic interest and adventure for one so young. His eyes naturally turned to Rome as a goal where his ambitions might be realized. Although only eighteen, he decided to leave Venice for the Eternal City to acquire more advanced knowledge in architecture and its allied arts. The impetus of his desire to further his practice and the new and endless sources for study in Rome, he felt, would fulfill his aspirations for the future.

Piranesi's natural endowments and artistic pursuits came to the attention of Scalfarotto, a noted master of perspective, and Valeriani, a pupil of Ricci of Belluno. Ricci had studied the famous paintings of Claude Lorrain, who loved Rome and was the painter of imaginative canvases composed of subjects reconstructed from its ruins.

It was the style of Valeriani that stimulated young Piranesi's work, also the appreciation of the melancholy grandeur of ruined Rome. There is no doubt that Valeriani's guidance not only gave him the necessary grounding in technical matters but also prepared him for his life's work. With this foundation, Piranesi concentrated his energies on the study of etching and engraving under Guiseppe Vasi, a Sicilian engraver whose prints aroused Goethe's interest in Italy.

Now at the age of twenty Piranesi returned to Venice to practice architecture. There is reason to believe that he studied with Tiepolo, for his early etchings reveal the strong influence of the Italian master. In fact, in Piranesi's later plates, where

A View of Paestum — An Etching by Piranesi

figures are introduced to give scale to his architectural renderings, his use of the etching needle resembles that of Tiepolo in character of line and technical handling. While in Venice, he continued his study of painting with Polanzani, who was responsible for his portrait which serves as a frontispiece for the first volume of "Le Antichità Romane."

As his practice of architecture in Venice met with little success, Piranesi turned his attention to archaeology. He left the city of his birth and journeyed to Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Paestum, where he made drawings of the ruined temples which were later to be transferred to copper.

Among the better known Piranesi prints is the famous series of "The Prisons," etched when he was twenty-two years of age, and published eight years later; and the series of the classic ruins called "Views of Rome," "The Triumphal Arches," and "Paestum."

Unlike the "Views of Rome," "The Triumphal Arches," and studies of the three great edifices in the "Paestum" series, the "Prisons" are fantasies of Piranesi's mind, and for this reason he was unhampered by the necessity of reproducing the character of his subject. In the "Prisons" his creative faculties were given the freedom of his imagination and inventiveness, resulting in works of art rarely equalled in architectural etching.

Perhaps the least known of the four important sets of prints are those depicting the ruins of Paestum. They have massive dignity, sure composition, pictorial conception, and execution in powerful linear precision.

*

The exhibition of Piranesi's "Paestum" during the months of January and February in the Wiggin Gallery received the attention of many visitors. Questions concerning Paestum have been numerous, so it would seem that a short synopsis of its history might be of interest.

Paestum and its environs were established in ancient times, a short distance from Gaudo, a large necropolis dating from the neolithic era. During recent excavations fragments of Proto-Corinthian vases have been unearthed that place the date of the foundation of Paestum in the seventh century B.C.

Strabo, a Greek geographer who lived at the time of Augustus, states that the Sibarites came from an Achaean city on the Ionian Sea toward the end of the seventh or possibly the sixth century B. C., and built their walls around the fertile and rich lands in a locality already inhabited. Thus, a Greek city called Poseidonia was founded which became a center of commerce with the Italic peoples of Enótria, who, with the Etruscans in the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., forced their way into the territory later called Picentino. Their prosperity, affirmed by the grandeur of the ruins and historic monuments, soon aroused the interest of the Lucanians, who were eager to conquer Poseidonia. The city fell into their hands about four hundred B. C., and its name was changed to Paiston or Paistos. The Lucanians dominated the area until three hundred and thirty-two B. C., when Alexander the Molossian, King of Epirus, succeeded in uniting the Greek people of Italy who defeated the Lucanians in battle. This was a revolt of short duration, for after the death of Alexander at Pandosia the city fell again to the undisputed strength of the Lucanians.

Some years later a new power was rising — that of Rome. Having subdued both the Sibarites and the Greeks, the Romans now claimed Paestum as a Latin colony.

Paestum remained faithful to Rome and such fidelity earned recognition. Paestum alone was allowed to rule itself and to mint its own money up to the time of Augustus and Tiberius. The Romans built great edifices, the Baths, the Forum, a Temple of Peace, and an Amphitheatre. Paestum continued to prosper until the late Empire, when a plague of malaria caused by the silting of the Salso river reduced its population greatly and rendered the climate unhealthy.

Beginning with the Middle Ages the population of Paestum dwindled to a small Christian community that gathered to worship at the Temple of Ceres which had been transferred into a church. In the ninth century A.D. there remained possibly a few Saracens, but most of the inhabitants took refuge on the mountain slopes in the locality known as Caput Acque (Capaccio Vecchio). In time the deserted city was hidden by forests and swamps, and it is said that even the memory of its location

had disappeared. It was discovered about the middle of the eighteenth century. Archaeological interest dates from this time when the ruined monuments were given the conventional names of Basilica, Temple of Neptune, and Temple of Ceres.

*

The twenty-one views of the ruins of the three architectural monuments of Paestum represent Piranesi's late work. The plates were etched in 1778, the year of his death. They were later brought to completion by his son Francesco, who introduced the figures of shepherds, animals, and foliage which give scale and atmosphere to the majestic ruins.

The more these prints are studied, the more one becomes familiar with the fine qualities which stamp them as great achievements. They are almost miraculous when the reality of Piranesi's subject is summoned forth and the planes in difficult perspective are indicated. The seemingly rough and summary strokes, suggest textures of stone and supporting elements as tangible realities. One may explore these ruins and be sure of every step, which is indeed a great test of mastery.

This series of Paestum is from the complete collection in twenty-two volumes of the etched and engraved work of Piranesi, published in 1720-1778.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

An Outstanding Gift of Manuscripts

THE *Boston Public Library Quarterly* for January 1952 recorded the gift of a notable group of manuscripts, containing as it did fine letters by Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, as well as by eminent English and American literary figures. Known as the Virginia and Richard Ehrlich Collection, its anonymous donor has recently added to it a further gift of similar material, comprising literary and historical manuscripts, not only of English and American origin but Continental and even African as well.

The earliest of the manuscripts is a document signed with his device by Alfonso III, King of Aragon, of the year 1288, granting to Fortunio de Vergua, Archbishop of Saragossa, the town of Albalete. To the present day the town, situated between Barcelona and Saragossa, is known, thanks to this document, as Albalete del Arzobispo. That Alfonso deeded the town to the Archbishop reflects no doubt his efforts to gain support in his struggles against the kings of France, Naples, and Castille.

Also of Spanish interest, if African in provenance, is an agreement between Muley Hamet, King of Tunis, and Don Alonso de la Cueva y Benavides, dated at Tunis on January 1, 1555. Owing to the assistance of Charles V, Muley Hamet, the Moslem Berber leader, had in 1535 recaptured his throne from the Turkish Barbarossa. In return, the Spanish received a military foothold in Tunis at Goleta. The agreement, which was to run for six years, indicates Muley Hamet's indebtedness to Spain. Signed in Arabic characters by the King and in Spanish by Cueva y Benavides, captain of the Spanish forces at Goleta, the former promised to pay a sum of money annually to Spain, to supply horses and falcons, and to restore to Don Alonso all Christians held captive. On the other hand, Hamet was to be free to colonize the neighborhood of Carthage, to trade in Tunis, and to receive customs duties.

*

Of the same period, but rather different in character, are two documents relating to Scotland. The first is a letter signed by Francis II of France and his Queen, Mary Stuart of Scotland. Since Francis II died a little over two years after his marriage to Mary,

documents signed by the two jointly are exceedingly scarce. The present piece is addressed to the Bishop of Pesaro, Cardinal Simonetta, notifying him that they have written the Pope, Pius IV, to request that Father Thomas Hay be appointed abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Glenluce, in Scotland. Dated from Amboise, March 23, 1559, the letter, with its bold signatures of Francis and Mary, is in itself a handsome example of Renaissance calligraphy.

That the Pope should be asked to name the abbot who, in earlier times, would have been elected from within the monastic community or else designated by the bishop of the diocese, reveals the difficulties of the period when local political pressure often led to the appointment of a layman as abbot, with the enjoyment of the abbey's revenues. To escape this evil, abbeys not infrequently placed themselves under the direct control of the Holy See, as was the case here with Glenluce.

The Abbey of Glenluce was indeed a temptation to the avaricious. Founded in 1190, on Luce Bay in southwestern Scotland, the monastery had become one of the great abbeys of Scotland, its buildings covering over an acre: even today its ruins are a notable sight. It is no surprise, then, that behind the recommendation of Hay, a priest prepared to take monastic vows, we find the sinister figure of the fourth Earl of Cassillis, Gilbert Kennedy. Popularly known in his day as the "King of Carrick," he was, according to a contemporary chronicler, "ane particular man, and ane werry greedy man, and cared not how he got land, so that he could come by the same." Upon the death of the previous abbot of Glenluce, James Gordon, "he dealt with ane monk of the same abbacy, who could counterfeit the abbot's handwriting, and all the whole convent's; and made him counterfeit their subscriptions. And when he had got the same done, fearing that the monk would reveal it, he caused a carl . . . to stick him, and then, for fear that carl had revealed, he made his father's brother, Hugh of Barquhany, accuse this carl for theft, and hang him in Crosraguel." It was, presumably, to protect the abbey from such a man that Rome wished to take steps.

Accompanying Francis and Mary's letter, accordingly, is an official document from Cardinal Simonetta, ordering that an earlier Papal bull which named Hay as abbot be carried out. The terms of the bull are re-iterated, and in addition ecclesiastical penalties are specified against members of the community who might oppose Hay.

But even the authority of Rome and the appointment of Hay as abbot were insufficient to protect the Abbey against the Earl of Cassilis. In-

sinuating himself as "bailie" or steward of the monastery, the Earl ended by pensioning the abbot and his monks and securing possession of the monastic property. The two documents appear to have remained in the Hay family in Scotland until recent times.

*

Less rapacious methods of securing land are revealed in three American documents of the following century. The earliest, dated October 25, 1659, is a deed issued and signed by Peter Stuyvesant, Governor General of the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, granting property in the town of Fort Orange, as Albany was then called, to Evert Jansen of Emden, in the Netherlands. Jansen was, following Dutch usage regarding family names, the Evert Jansen Wendell from whom not only Barrett Wendell, the literary historian, but also Wendel Phillips, the reformer, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, trace descent through a member of the family who came to Boston from Albany in mid-eighteenth century.

Like that signed by Stuyvesant, the second document is a deed, dated March 29, 1682, and signed by William Penn, to "ffrancis Burroughs of London Milliner" for one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, at a cost of five shillings (at current exchange, seventy cents).

Massachusetts is in turn represented by a deed signed on April 14, 1675, by William Tubbs, Senior, of Duxbury, transferring lands at "Namasakeeset" which he had earlier bought from William Pabodie to his son William Tubbs, Junior. "Namasakeeset" proves to be the Indian name for what is today the western half of the town of Pembroke. Witnessed by John Holmes and Ralph Thacher, the piece owes its principal interest to the fact that it was notarized also by John Alden, whose autograph signature is rare.

Other American manuscripts include a two-page letter from Robert Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the foremost financier of the American Revolution. Written from his estate at Mannheim, outside of Philadelphia, on March 29, 1777, to Jonathan Hudson, a Baltimore merchant, it is chiefly concerned with sales of salt and tobacco and shows the difficulties of trade during the Revolution. Of the same period is a return signed by Captain Joshua Bragdon and Colonel James Scamman, of Massachusetts, reporting the loss by one William Barton of his coat "in the engagement at Bunker's Hill."

The American Navy on the other hand is represented by a draft for the sum of $2,000 "required for the use of the officers of the *Java*," dated at Baltimore, November 18, 1814, and countersigned

by Oliver Hazard Perry. Following his victory over the British fleet on Lake Erie in the previous year, Perry had been given command of the *Java*, but, because of the British blockade of Baltimore, found himself unable to take the ship to sea.

*

Literature is represented by five English manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ranging from a brief social note addressed by Thomas Gray to a "Mrs. & Miss Jennings" to a brief letter from Arthur Conan Doyle to the unidentifed editor of a new magazine. In another letter from Bath, January 3, 1767, Tobias Smollett promises his friend Samuel Mitchelson, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, to recommend the latter's nephew to the notice of Alexander Campbell in Calcutta, though Campbell soon expected to leave India. Such was indeed the case: having amassed a fortune in the East, Campbell was shortly to return to England where his callous conduct was later satirized by Smollett in his *Ode to Independence* and in *Humphrey Clinker*.

A letter, written probably in 1821, to John Taylor, the publisher, by Thomas DeQuincey contains a familiar request for money, referring at the same time to his *Confessions of an English Opium Eater,* then appearing in the *London Magazine*. However tenuous it may be, a link with America is found in a letter from George Henry Lewes to Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, whose friendship with Walt Whitman has made her name as well known in the United States as have her own writings. In the summer of 1871 Mrs. Gilchrist had rented her house at Shotter Mill, in Surrey, to Lewes and George Eliot, and in the letter, previously published only in incomplete form, Lewes describes the joys felt by both in the new house: "Mrs. Lewes [*i. e.* George Eliot] never seems at home except under a broad sweep of sky & the *greenth* of the uplands round her."

Of greater importance is a letter from Mark Twain written in 1874, addressed solely "Gentlemen," but in view of its contents presumably directed to Chatto and Windus, the English publishers, possibly in reply to a request for a comment favorable to Ambrose Bierce's *Nuggets & Dust,* published by them in 1872. While expressing a personal affection for Bierce, whom he met in London and may have known in California, Mark Twain describes the book as "the vilest . . . that exists in print — or very nearly so," adding, to be sure, that "Bierce has written some admirable things." In the *Nuggets,* however, "for every laugh . . . there are five blushes, ten shudders & a vomit. The laugh is too expensive."

Some of the unpublished letters in the group will be printed in future issues of this magazine.

JOHN ALDEN

An Early French Edition of *Guerino*

L'*Hystoire des faitz et prouesses du vaillant Chevalier Guerin* is a romance of chivalry from the Charlemagne cycle, an early edition of which has recently been acquired for the Rare Book Department. The name of the author does not appear, but, following the latest modern edition of the romance,[1] one may give it as Andrea da Barberino, an Italian writer, who supposedly died between 1431 and 1433. The French translation was made by Jehan Decuchermoys, a native of Lyons, who, at the end of the volume, relates his journey to Jerusalem in 1490.

The small quarto volume was printed without date in Paris by Nicolas Chrestien, whose striking mark — a shield with *fleurs-de-lis* held by dragons — fills the verso of the last page. The volume contains 41 woodcut illustrations within the text, all extremely dramatic, with animated gestures and facial expressions. Covering half the title-page is a battle-scene with a knight raising his sword, and on the recto of the leaf the translator is shown writing at a round desk. The type is batarde.

The first printed Italian edition of the tale *Il Guerino detto il Meschino,* appeared in Padua in 1473. Graesse lists eleven further editions before 1500, and the catalogue of Francesco Henrion, an eighteenth-century collector, knows yet two more incunabula. Of the French version by Decuchermoys only one dated edition is known, the one issued (at Lyons?) by Olivier Arnouillet in 1530. There are two undated Paris editions: one by Alain Lotrian and Denis Janot, and the other by Nicolas Chrestien.

The romance begins in 783, during the reign of Charlemagne, who made Guichard and Millon respectively King of Apulia and Prince of Taranto. Two Turkish brothers, Napar and Madar, ruled Albania; their sister Finisse was reputed to be "the most beautiful young woman in the world." Millon set forth to capture the city of Durazzo and win the hand of Finisse, in both of which he was successful. He was crowned king of Albania, the Turkish bride was baptized, and in due time a son was born and named Guerin,

1. *Guerino il Meschino* "Romanzo Cavalleresco di Andrea da Barberino compendiato pei lettori del secolo XX . . ." (Milan, 1923).

the hero of the tale. The infant was placed in the care of a gentlewoman named Seffera. Unhappily, through some subversion, the Turks entered Durazzo and massacred the Christians. Millon and his wife were put into prison, and Seffera fled with Guerin to the sea and embarked on a ship for Constantinople. But pirates attacked the ship; Seffera was thrown overboard, and the infant was sold to some merchants at Salonica. Eventually he became the property of one Epidoine of Constantinople, who named him Mesquin (the "unfortunate"), and reared him with his own son, so that he learned to speak Greek and Latin, and even Turkish. However, he was a slave.

It happened that Alexander, son of the Emperor at Constantinople, desired Mesquin for a companion. Mesquin's master released the lad, now twenty years of age, on condition that Alexander would enfranchise him; the Prince not only did this but treated him like a brother. Mesquin was given the duty of carving the meat for the Emperor and his daughter Elizene, of whom he became enamored.

When the Emperor wished to marry off his daughter, he announced a great joust open to Christian and Saracen knights on condition that they were nobly born. Mesquin, who knew not whence he came, was downcast; but Alexander helped him to enter the tourney. Three times the "unknown" knight was victorious, but the prize could not be awarded to him, for he had vanished. Thereafter King Astiladoire, ruler of Roumania and Greece, besieged Constantinople, and Mesquin hoped to prove his valor in its defense. Elizene, irritated by his apparent indifference, said to him: "Go away, serf and slave — you don't even know who you are," whereupon his love for her turned into hatred. However, the Emperor made him a knight, and he performed extraordinary feats, slaying the Saracens until peace was restored. But for Mesquin there was no peace of mind. He begged the Emperor to let him depart: "I must go all over the world to find out who is my father."

This is the leading motif of the long series of wanderings and adventures that follow. An Egyptian necromancer told Mesquin to go to the trees of the sun, where he would find his lineage. Accordingly he traveled eastward till he reached the trees of the sun. There a voice told him that his name was Guerin and he was of royal extraction. Further he journeyed to Persia. There he was the champion of the beautiful Autiniche, the orphaned daughter of the King, and, after slaying her enemies, restored her realm. Autiniche could not bear to have him depart, but he swore that he would re-

turn within ten years, during which time she was not to take another for husband. On he went to Prester John in India, and accomplished great feats. Then an African hermit directed him to the Sibyl in the mountains of Piedmont, from whom he gained the information that his father and mother were alive. He then went to Rome and made his confession to Pope Benedict III,[2] who ordered him to atone for his visits to the pagan trees of the sun and the Sibyl by going to the Purgatory of St. Patrick in Ireland.

Then comes the terrible experience of St. Patrick's Purgatory, when Mesquin is carried about by devils and sees the torments suffered by the sinners. He meets acquaintances, too, and sees Satan holding in his mouth Judas, Brutus, and Darius. The borderline between Purgatory and Hell is not clearly marked; it was only when he heard the blasphemy from the damned that Mesquin was aware of being in Hell. Thence he crossed over a stream and came to the delectable mountain and the earthly Paradise. His guides were the prophets Enoch and Elijah. These Mesquin, back on earth, finally asked: "Who is my father, and where can I find him?" In answer, they led him back to Ireland, where in a garden he saw an ancient couple, shaggy and unkempt, with garments torn.

Returning to the Continent, Mesquin paid his respects to the Pope, who sent him at the head of an army to help King Guichard of Apulia in his campaign against the infidels of Albania. Mesquin was victorious, and Durazzo was retaken. When the prisons were broken open, there emerged Mesquin's father and mother, savage in appearance like the pair the prophets had shown him in Ireland. The father's reign was restored, and Mesquin could return to Persia to fetch Autiniche, who had waited for him ten years and two months. His history is continued to the end when, sorrowing over the death of his wife, he wants to spend the rest of his life in a hermitage, but is overcome by a fatal illness at the age of fifty-six.

The story of Mesquin has a special significance in literary history because of its detailed treatment of the Purgatory of Saint Patrick.

According to legend, this saint, desirous of converting the pagans of Ireland, was divinely led to a round hole into which a penitent might descend and view Purgatory, Hell, and even Paradise. Saint Patrick built a church which was in charge of monks of the Augustinian order, who kept the keys to the doors of the

2. The name is erroneous, as the date 824 is mentioned in connection with this Pope. The one who became Pope in 824 was Eugene III, and he is the one named in the modern Italian version.

hole known as "St. Patrick's Purgatory." The spot became a frequented place of pilgrimage to the end of the fifteenth century; and the legends connected with it were woven into literature, ranging from a twelfth-century Latin tract by Henry of Saltrey to the *Vida y Purgatorio de S. Patricio* by Perez de Montalvan.[3]

The similarities between the visions of Mesquin in St. Patrick's Purgatory and those of Dante in the Hell and Purgatory of the Divine Comedy are significant. The most striking accordance is in the pit of Hell, where the traitors are frozen and the three arch-traitors mangled by the triple-headed Lucifer. Thomas Wright accounts for the resemblance in a facile way, regarding the whole work "a palpable and poor imitation of Dante, built upon the legend of Henry of Saltrey."[4] However, a more subtle theory was developed by Giovanni Bottari on the basis of a minute comparison in which the divergencies as well as the likenesses of the two visions are considered.[5] The writer noted in the *Mesquino* certain phrases that conform to the verses of Dante; yet he found it more logical to assume that the cruder production came first and the finished work of genius, the Divine Comedy, later. Monsignor Bottari believed that the romance was originally written in French and that the Italian translator amplified his work with devices of Dante's Divine Comedy. It was possible, therefore, that Dante had seen the ancient French romance with its account of Mesquin's entering the "Hole of St. Patrick." The work of Decuchermoys would then represent a retranslation into French from the Italian.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

3. The Library has this work in a Madrid edition of 1739. On the fly-leaf George Ticknor wrote in pencil: "This is the origin of the San Patricio of Calderon." See also *The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary history* by George Philip Krapp (Baltimore, 1900).

4. Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1845), 138.

5. "Lettera di un Accademico della Crusca . . . scritta ad un altro Accademico della medesima." Vol. V of *Opere* of Dante, (Florence, 1830) 139 ff.

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3.27.56: 1M.

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JULY 1956

George W. Curtis and the Anti-Slavery Cause

By W. GORDON MILNE

SINCE returning to America in 1850 from his European "Wanderjahre," George Curtis had been busily employed in the literary world, but it would be incorrect to suppose that he had remained ignorant of the larger world of public affairs, and particularly of the growing cleavage between the North and the South on the issue of slavery. Early in the 1840's he had written to friends of his firm belief that slavery should be abolished, whether it meant a break-up of the Union or no. Now in 1856, when the struggle between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces in Kansas was further intensifying the problem, he reiterated this view. "I am frankly for absolute freedom in Kansas," he said, "for entire freedom in all new territories — and for no return of slaves, as slaves, under any circumstances whatsoever — or disunion. Nor, after this, do I see how there can be reasonable union again." These were dangerous sentiments for such touchy times, but Curtis felt that there could be no compromise about the "great cause."

Realizing the importance of establishing the principle of freedom for all, Curtis quickly decided that one must do more than express one's views privately to his friends, one must enter the public arena to battle actively. He found a ready-made opportunity confronting him, in this summer of 1856, for the presidential campaign was just getting underway, and both candidates, James Buchanan and John C. Frémont, were searching for experienced speakers to support them and their platforms. Since Buchanan favored compromise with the Southern slavery forces and Frémont

no compromise at all, Curtis unhesitatingly chose to stump for the latter. Enrolling in the ranks of the newly organized Republican party, which endorsed Frémont, he prepared to do his bit.

Endeavoring first to enlist his friends as fellow participants, he wrote to Longfellow, who was going abroad:

> I have been bitterly reproaching Bayard Taylor for deserting just now. You & he and Tommo [Tom Appleton] & William Story and John Kensett could paralyze the votes of Buchanan, Pierce, Douglas, Brooks & Butler. Isn't that worth staying for? . . . Couldn't you all postpone until after Christmas?
>
> Ah yes! I know; we are all dirty and degraded enough. But now comes the struggle, now we are going to see *how* dirty . . . If the Union is not a machinery for the protection of Liberty, but of slavery, what decent man is not a disunionist?
>
> Well, you are going to let this hubbub die behind you and sink in a watery horizon. How can you do it?
>
> . . . The Honorable Geo. Bancroft keeps splendidly silent . . . And his business is to write history and to see how the time-servers are lost, and to praise the heroes who take the stand, which he will not take. Men write history, and forget they are living it.

Curtis's persuasive powers failed in this instance, and he was the only one among these authors and artists to participate in the "dirty struggle." As a consequence, he was probably less an author or an artist than most of them, for his life thereafter involved constant movement in both the political and the literary world, and consequently lacked the singleness of purpose essential to the fullest development of the artist. But, as the fervor of his letter to Longfellow shows, he could not have remained aloof; he preferred to "live" history and to take a chance on being remembered by it.

Postponing for "the commanding interest of the time" all but the most necessary literary pursuits, Curtis joined the Frémont campaign, and in July began speaking, first on Staten Island, then in Yonkers with William Cullen Bryant and in upper New York state. The transition from the lyceum platform to the political rostrum offered no particular difficulty, and he quickly became one of the most forceful speakers on the Republican side. As Chauncey Depew — later to be a remarkable orator himself — said, "His books were very popular, his charming personality, the culture and the elevation of his speeches put him in a class by himself." Depew did not mention another characteristic, his sonorous eloquence,

which impressed William Winter when he heard Curtis later that summer at a meeting in Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

In the midst of his stumping for Frémont, Curtis stopped off in Middletown, Connecticut, on August 5th to deliver an oration at Wesleyan University. This was the first — and one of the best — of the many orations which he delivered during his lifetime.

Oratory in the mid-nineteenth century was still a proud American tradition. The high standards set early in the century by Webster, Clay and Calhoun were lived up to by their successors, Everett, Parker, Beecher, Phillips, Sumner, and Curtis. Though all these men had very different styles (for example, Phillips' vigorous and straightforward delivery as opposed to Everett's scholarly periods), they were alike in possessing that essential characteristic of oratory, the power of persuasion.

It was an orator's fundamental task to move his audience to an acceptance of his views on a certain subject, usually an important public issue such as slavery. He was not primarily interested in making an address which would have permanence and literary beauty, or which would instruct and entertain the audience (as the lyceum lecturer endeavored to do). He was concerned, rather, with making an address which would persuade his listeners to adopt certain principles or follow certain courses. He therefore employed all the rhetorical devices at his command, relying more heavily on an appeal to the emotions than to the intellect. He depended on gestures, pauses, repetitions, and the force of his personality to carry his audience along with him.

George Curtis possessed the proper requisites for a successful orator: a strong personality, a fine presence, a sweet and rich voice, a polished delivery, easy and effective gestures, and enthusiasm for and command of his subject. Though he "orated" more quietly than most, depending on logical thought, symmetry and apt allusion, he could, when the occasion demanded, wax eloquent, and was especially skillful in closing his orations with a rhetorical flourish.

These traits were evident to his youthful audience at Wesleyan, as he stood on the platform before them on August 5, 1856. They noted with approval his poise and easy manner, and as he began to speak, they quickly fell under his spell. His subject, "The Duty of the American Scholar," was clearly directed at them. It was Emerson's conception of the scholar, not a bookworm but one who faced

the issues of life; the issues in this case were politics. "Because we are scholars," Curtis asked the young graduates, "shall we cease to be citizens?" The scholar owed a duty to his country to elevate and correct public sentiment, and therefore he must bring the benefit of his intelligence and education to public affairs as Milton had done and as Charles Sumner was doing.

Right now, Curtis declared, the scholar's most important task was to aid in the preservation of liberty, and that meant, of course, to fight for the elimination of slavery. Pointing to the struggle between slaveholders and abolitionists in Kansas, Curtis tried to impress upon his audience how serious the issue had become. No victim of revolutionary days, he said, was "more truly a martyr of liberty than every murdered man whose bones lie bleeding in this summer sun upon the silent plains of Kansas." With a ringing challenge he concluded, "Brothers! the call has come to us . . . I summon you to the great fight of freedom."

Not only did the boys at Wesleyan listen, but also people all over the country. Curtis was not overly surprised. "My oration makes a great talk," he told his fiancée, "as I supposed it would." Nevertheless, he was pleased when Charles Sumner wrote to congratulate him and when the New York *Tribune* printed the address a few days later in response to popular demand. With this speech Curtis joined the ranks of the abolitionist orators for good, and his name would henceforth be acclaimed by many in the North, vilified by most in the South.

Curtis continued campaigning for Frémont well into the fall, traveling extensively through New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and speaking freely against the moral and economic curse of slavery. In vigorous terms he denounced leaders such as the Democratic presidential candidate, James Buchanan, who "counsel cowardice under the grateful name of conservatism, and treachery to the Union and the Constitution under the sounding cry of opposition to anarchy and sectionalism." Many were moved by his eloquence; N. P. Willis, for one, after hearing him at Newburgh, New York, resolved to cast the first vote of his life — and for Frémont, of course. Before the campaign wound up, Curtis left the field, content in the belief that whatever the election's outcome, the anti-slavery movement could not be stopped.

Though involved during the ensuing year in an attempt to put

the magazine with which he was then most actively associated, *Putnam's Monthly,* back on a sound financial basis, Curtis did not forget the turbulent state of public affairs, and he found time during the summer of 1857 to tour college campuses, delivering another oration in behalf of the cause of freedom. His subject, "Patriotism," was a variation on the theme which he had expounded the summer before, and which he was to expound many, many times again, the duty of the educated man, in a democracy, to participate in the affairs of his country. The theme had awakened an eager response from the young men at Wesleyan, and now it awakened a similar response from those at Union, Middlebury, Dartmouth, Westfield (Massachusetts) Normal School, and Brown. Because he addressed himself to them, because he offered them a role to play, because he seemed one of them even while he led them on, Curtis captured their attention and inspired them with his firm idealism and quiet courage.

In his address on "Patriotism" the orator endeavored, as he had in "The Duty of the American Scholar," to enlist the young graduates and undergraduates in the fight for the anti-slavery cause. The recent Dred Scott decision handed down by the Supreme Court had been a set-back to the anti-slavery forces, and the outlook did not appear so bright to Curtis as it had the previous fall. His younger brother Joseph Curtis wrote him, "The United States are fast going to the devil, bound hand and foot and given to the south," and he was inclined to agree.

Urging the young men of Union, or Dartmouth, or Brown to join the struggle, he put his appeal on an idealistic plane, counselling them to obey the moral law which stands higher than any country's laws. He made it clear that a fundamental moral law is the idea of liberty for all men — including Negroes. The vital principle of freedom must be fought for at the risk of going against a country's law and at the risk of a country's disunion. The single duty for you young men now, he told his listeners, is to fight hard for this freedom; maintain the public conscience, do not let our commercial success make cowards of us, do not compromise with the slaveholders, educate the public to acceptance of the principle of freedom, whatever the consequences to the Union.

Such doctrine did not sit equally well with all people. Whereas the Springfield *Daily Republican* called Curtis's speech "the finest

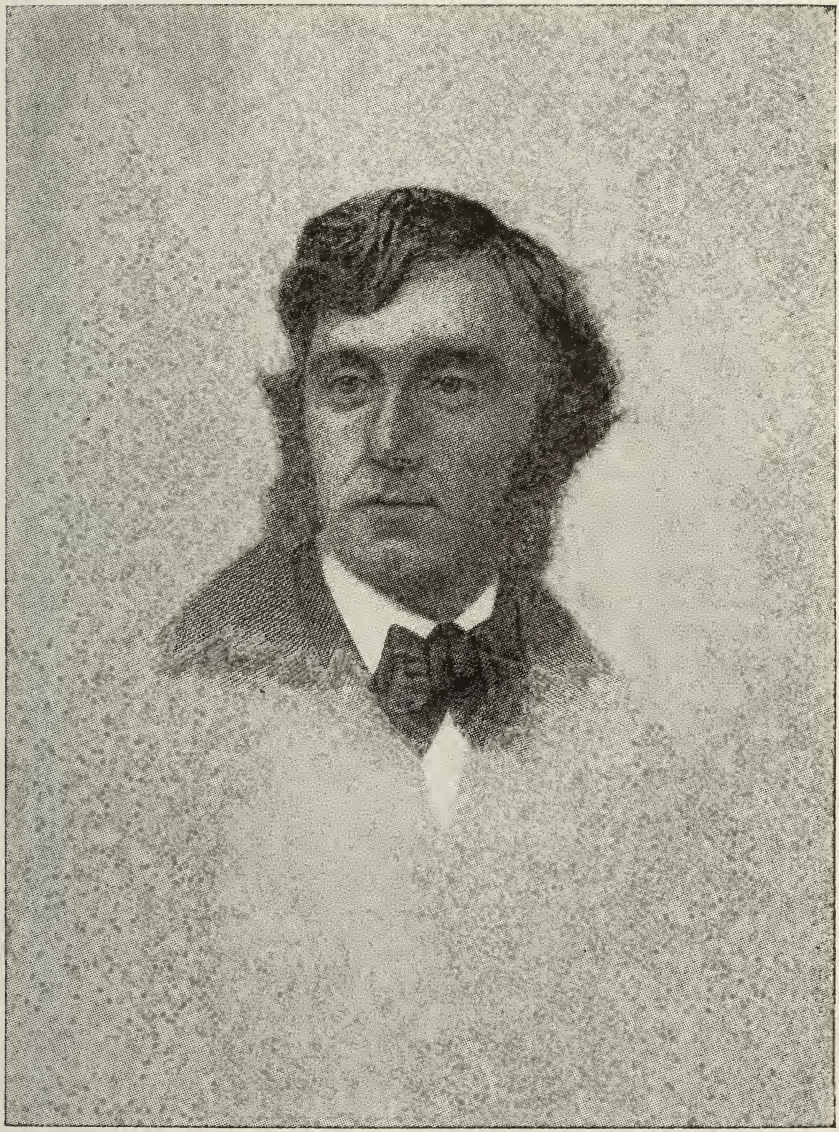
effort we have yet heard from the distinguished orator," the Boston *Post* assailed him for having permitted "his black republican bile to flow." Curtis took both the praise and abuse with equanimity and went on enunciating the principles in which he sincerely believed.

His traveling on the lecture circuit was really just beginning. In June, 1858, he was to start out again with a new oration, "Democracy and Education," and to cover, in two months' time, 3,000 miles, seventeen states "and one foreign country (Canada!)." As the United States grew more disturbed over the slavery issue, lecturers and orators (who for the time being became almost synonymous, since even lecturers seldom discussed anything but the "great question"), were much sought after. It suited Curtis perfectly both to be in demand and to be able to combine his "orating" and "lecturing;" he could earn needed money while discussing that which lay closest to his heart, freedom for the slaves.

Before beginning the summer swing, however, Curtis addressed a Women's Rights Convention in New York. For many years he had believed that suffrage should be granted to women, and he was glad now to go on record with his belief. All people should share in the government in a democracy, he told the Convention, and the argument that voting would unsex women had no validity. There was absolutely nothing incompatible in having political rights and taking care of children. His listeners were delighted to have such hearty support from so prominent a man; most of his fellow authors and lecturers, though sharing his views, were more reticent about expressing them.

Much of his speech was devoted to the dominant topic of the time, the question of freedom for the slaves. He stated firmly that it was a hollow democracy which did not grant freedom to all its members, and in a surprisingly fierce diatribe he attacked President Buchanan for not defending such freedom, for playing into the hands of the slave powers, or, as Curtis put it, "procuring" for them:

> I express contempt for a President of the United States who began as the platform of a false democracy, and naturally ends as the pimp of a real despotism (Great applause, cheers, and hisses continued for several moments). I say *pimp* and I choose my word (Renewed hissing and applause). These people are evidently sound on the goose (Continued laughter, with hisses and renewed



Photograph of George W. Curtis by Mathew B. Brady
Engraved by W. G. Jackman

applause). At least, they all have the sound of the goose (More laughter, cheers, and hisses). I use my words, and I choose my words, and when I so call the President of the United States a *pimp,* I do it with a full knowledge of the scope and meaning of that word (Hissing, but seeing that Mr. Curtis was not to be stopped, they stopped).

The remarks of the *Southern Banner,* a Georgia newspaper, on Curtis's speech made his invective sound tame:

> He distinguished himself above all his compeers by his filthy and ferocious denunciations of southern people and their institutions . . . At a convention of unsexed women and leprous abolitionists in the city of New York, he assailed the President of the United States in terms of such disgusting brutality and indecency as even to disgust some of his hearers.

But when someone whom he cared about, Charles Sumner, could say at the same time, "I always watch you, with special interest and hope, and read what you say with admiration and delight," Curtis was content to ignore the *Southern Banner.*

In the fall of 1859 Curtis again appeared on the lecture platform, speaking in Brooklyn, Worcester, New Bedford, the Chenango County area of New York, and Philadelphia, all within three weeks' time. Though lecturing occasionally on literary subjects (for example, the "Dickens" in his Philadelphia appearance), he spoke more often on political matters, joining the anti-slavery orators, Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher, in crusading for the cause of freedom. Even at this time, on the eve of the Civil War, pro-slavery feeling, or at least a desire to preserve the Union at all costs, prevailed in the North, and Curtis, Phillips, and Beecher were looked upon as incendiary individuals. Curtis's new lecture, "The Present Aspect of the Slavery Question," in which he reiterated his demand for the abolition of slavery and chided those who weakly pleaded that slavery should be left alone rather than endanger the Union, aroused considerable feeling, especially in Philadelphia.

In his second appearance in that city, on December 15th, Curtis was slated to deliver, not the innocuous Dickens lecture, but "The Present Aspect of the Slavery Question." Before his arrival the *Pennsylvanian,* a pro-slavery Philadelphia paper, had editorialized about "hireling incendiaries making inflammatory speeches," and

had urged the mayor and police to prevent the lecturer's appearance. Curtis, warned by the *Pennsylvanian's* attitude, was aware that there might be demonstrations against him, but he was determined to go through with his lecture, if only to defend the right of free speech.

Crowds attended the lecture, and a hostile mob milled around outside the hall. Southern students attending lectures at medical colleges in the city, so the *Daily Evening Bulletin* reported, stirred up the people; there were speeches denouncing fanaticism such as Curtis's; speeches declaring that the preservation of the Union was worth more than all the "niggers" of the North and South put together, that the "niggers" were only orangoutangs anyway. Not content with speeches, the mobs shouted and jeered and did their best to hinder Curtis's delivery of his lecture. Some of the rioters had managed to get into the hall, and they heckled the speaker by rising and cheering violently for the Union. Those outside threw bricks through the windows, and even a bottle of vitriol, which severely burned "Miss Fussel, daughter of Professor Fussel of the Female Medical College." Two attempts were made to set fire to the building, and, though there were five hundred policemen on duty, making numerous arrests, general tumult prevailed.

Through it all Curtis delivered his lecture calmly, "not putting in the needlessly exasperating but not omitting a word that was really expressive of my thoughts." He could be heard only at brief intervals, but he gave the speech in full and was allowed to retire from the hall without receiving personal harm.

It was undeniably a courageous performance. The "four to six to eight thousand" people outside the hall were in an ugly mood, and Curtis "knew that there were some pistols in the crowd." But as he said the next day in a letter to Alexander Henry, Philadelphia's mayor, he felt it imperative to vindicate the right of free speech, even if it meant having "my head broken." Mayor Henry replied, "Although I believed the delivery of your lecture in our midst under the peculiar excitement of public sentiment to be highly inexpedient, I certainly admire and appreciate the firmness with which you pursued that which you deemed the line of your duty."

Curtis's action redounded to his credit, and, when he went to lecture in Westchester a few evenings later (on the comparatively harmless subject, "Fair Play For Women"), he was loudly cheered

by an audience "in sympathy with the man who had been mobbed." His display of personal courage — and, though the most spectacular, it was by no means the only one in his life — belies the picture often painted of him as merely an elegant and urbane dandy!

IN the late 1850's, as we have seen, Curtis became well known in political circles, stumping for Frémont in the Presidential campaign of 1856 and then sharing the Republican Party's organizing activities in Richmond County and, to a lesser extent, in New York state. In the years that followed, from 1860 to 1865, he rose to national prominence. It was a peculiar kind of prominence, politically speaking, and it won for him the quixotic title, "the most distinguished American citizen in public life who has never held office." Curtis deserved this distinction, for he made a valuable contribution to American political life.

In May, 1860, the Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, and Curtis attended as a member of the New York delegation. It did not take him long to recognize and evaluate the workings of this peculiarly American institution, nor did it take him long to make his own presence felt. Before the Convention was over, he had, by a ringing speech, impressed the delegates and made the key politicians aware of the appearance in the political arena of an anomalous but powerful figure, a figure whom they never fully understood but for whom, and for whose influence, they had a hearty respect.

The incident which brought Curtis into the limelight occurred toward the end of the Convention. Joshua R. Giddings, a delegate from Ohio, desirous of putting the Republican Party on record as determined to bring about the final extinction of slavery, proposed the addition to the Convention platform of a key phrase from the Declaration of Independence:

> That the maintenance of the principle promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution "that all men are created equal . . ." is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

The delegates cast the amendment aside, and Giddings thereupon angrily strode out of the hall.

As Curtis said afterwards, "It seemed to me that the spirits of

all martyrs to freedom were marching out of the convention behind the venerable force of that indignant and outraged old man." He promptly rose to renew the motion. Carl Schurz, present at the Convention as Chairman of the Wisconsin delegation, described how "a young man of strikingly beautiful features" leaped up, and, courageously persisting until he obtained the floor, delivered, in a "peculiarly melodious voice," a firm and convincing speech in support of Giddings. Curtis dared the delegates as "the representatives of the party of freedom, meeting on the borders of the free prairies in a hall dedicated to the advancement of liberty, to reject the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence affirming the equality and defining the rights of man." Swayed by his powerful oratory and by the good sense of his plea, they changed their minds and enthusiastically passed the Giddings amendment.

Several characteristics of Curtis as a political figure were revealed at the Convention: his ability to discern capable and honest leaders, men who placed principle before mere politics; his lack of personal political ambition; his courageous support of the underdog and of unpopular causes; his oratorical gift; and his belief that it was the duty of the good citizen to do his share in cleansing "dirty" politics.

He regarded William H. Seward as a logical and sound choice, but he recognized that there were other promising candidates in the field. Lincoln, he wrote to his wife in the opening days of the Convention, "is a strong man." When it became apparent during the balloting that the nomination of Seward was impossible and that Lincoln was to be the party's choice, Curtis accepted the nomination as a good one, and thereafter lent Lincoln unfailing support.

In observing how Seward, with ample qualifications for the presidency and with the nomination seemingly in his grasp, lost to Lincoln, Curtis realized the fickle nature of politics, and his own desire for political success was dampened. He ran for public office occasionally in the next few years, but he was guided in so doing more by his belief that he could be of service to his state and country than by personal ambition. It seemed to him essential to counteract, if possible, the influence of such men as Thurlow Weed, whom he saw at work in the Convention manipulating platforms and persons entirely for selfish purposes, and it seemed to him essential to fight for the principles — such as Giddings' "All men

are created equal" — in which he believed, whether in the role of public official or private citizen.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1860 Curtis campaigned for Lincoln and for local Republican candidates, speaking on Staten Island and Long Island, and doing much to win the state of New York over to the Republican side. The Republican ticket was voted into office in November, and Curtis rejoiced in the defeat of the Democratic Party, which he labeled "that rotten mess."

In 1861 Curtis was elected as a delegate to the New York State Republican Convention, and for the next year he was seriously considered for the Republican nomination as Representative of his district in Congress. The nomination, not then forthcoming, was given him two years later, and "with such enthusiasm," he reported to Charles Norton, "that I quite lost my voice when I came to thank the Convention." Since his district was heavily Democratic however, Curtis did not anticipate election. "It was not for that I accepted," he wrote George Bancroft on November 2, 1864, "but only to make a better fight." It was fortunate that he was so prepared, for after the election the next week he had to tell Norton, "I am defeated of course, and by a very heavy majority." That he accepted the nomination to forward the principles of the Republican Party gives evidence of his putting his desire to be of help to the country ahead of his personal ambition. He was sufficiently human to be disappointed when he failed to win the election, but his satisfaction over Lincoln's reelection, with its guarantee that Republican policies would be carried on, more than compensated for his own setback.

When not involved in the purely political business of conventions and campaigns, Curtis did not permit his interest in political issues and public affairs to slacken. His lectures, his magazine writing, and his letters all reveal his absorption in the "topics of the time."

Naturally, one of the principal "topics" during the war years was the slavery question. Curtis had long been a fervent Abolitionist and wished not only to check the spread of slavery but to eliminate the system altogether. When he read Frederick Law Olmsted's new book, *A Journey In the Back Country,* in the summer of 1860, he found support for his position.

> [It is] about the heaviest blow (being true and moderate) that has yet been dealt at the system. It shows conclusively what a

blight it is, but at the same time how difficult and distant the remedy seems to be. It is the most timely of books—for no man who believes that the picture is faithful would be in any manner accessory to planting such a curse in the territories.

Like Olmsted, he knew full well, however, that emancipation would be only the beginning of a series of problems — "how difficult and distant the remedy seems to be." Even if slavery were immediately abolished, the slave's condition would be only nominally and legally, not actually, equal to that of the whites. "Prejudice," he said, "is not amenable to law."

This view is expressed in an introduction which he wrote in 1860 for a book. *A Summer on the Borders of the Caribbean Sea,* written by a Negro, J. Dennis Harris. Sharing Curtis's view that the Negroes would long be harassed by prejudice, Harris proposed emigration as a possible solution. He suggested that, under the protection of the United States Government, a few intelligent and industrious colored families could colonize some island such as Haiti or San Domingo, and to this settlement their emancipated fellows might gradually follow. Harris did not contemplate any vast exodus of the Negro race, and did not expect his plan to be a panacea, but he hoped that it might be at least a partial solution. Curtis, while remaining personally noncommittal about the practicality of Harris's proposal, expressed a belief that it should be given serious consideration.

WHEN the Civil War broke out the next year, the slavery issue tended to recede into the background, and the dominant concern in the minds of many Northerners became the preservation of the Union. This distressed Curtis, who felt that the duty of freeing the slaves, the moral duty of securing liberty for all, should remain uppermost in the mind and conscience of each man. He complained to Norton, "There is very little moral mixture in the 'Anti-Slavery' feeling of this country."

> A great deal is abstract philanthropy: part is hatred of slaveholders; a great part is jealousy for white labor, very little is consciousness of wrong doing, and the wish to right it. How we hate those whom we have injured . . .

Not only did many Northerners have unworthy reasons for

freeing the slaves, still others had no reasons at all and did not seem to care whether slavery was abolished. Curtis was therefore delighted when President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in September, 1862, for it made the issue crystal clear. "We know now exactly where we are," he said. "There are now none but slavery and anti-slavery men in the country. The fence is knocked over and straddling is impossible."

As more and more slaves were freed by the advancing Northern armies during the course of the war, Curtis and others debated what should be done with them. The idea of Negro emigration to Haiti again occurred to him when he met Colonel Romaine, the Haitian minister, at a party early in March, 1863. But, since widespread emigration was hardly feasible, he turned to other plans. In February, 1862, he had suggested to the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, that a sub-department or bureau be established in the Government to be responsible for the care of the liberated slaves and had urged that the department be headed by his friend and erstwhile *Putnam's* associate, Frederick Law Olmsted. He wrote to Chase about Olmsted:

> . . . known to you doubtless by his remarkable works upon the social life of the Slave States, [he] is peculiarly fitted by character, capacity, experience, and commanding executive and administrative genius for the leadership of such a bureau. I have known him intimately for many years, and have had every opportunity of the closest familiarity with his masterly good sense, his clear perception, his thoroughness, and untiring energy, and his profound interest in the solution of the question which becomes daily more imminent.

When Congress got around to creating such a bureau in 1864, Olmsted was not chosen as chairman, but Curtis had a part to play in the bureau's establishment. Together with his father-in-law, Mr. Shaw (who had been President of the Freedmen's Association since the early days of the war), he helped Charles Sumner work out a Freedmen's Bill, which contained a provision for reestablishing the Freedmen's Bureau. The bill was passed, and the Bureau thus came into being. Curtis and Mr. Shaw were highly gratified, for they felt that the Bureau would quickly assume the important task of educating the ex-slaves to their duties as citizens.

While following the handling of the slavery issue during the war years, Curtis naturally followed the course of the war itself. He had sensed in the late months of 1860 that war was creeping closer, for from the temper of the lyceum audiences he knew that the North as a whole was resolved to prevent the spread of slavery at any cost. Late in December 1860, he wrote to his wife, "If the Slave states hold to their present stand, separation is inevitable, and then either war or a treaty and formation of two governments."

The latter alternative seemed a distinct possibility for a while. But, though anticipating secession, Curtis commented to his wife in January that he had begun to feel that "we shall have no fighting." Two months later, however, the war began with the bombardment of Fort Sumpter, and on April 19th Curtis saw his brother Sam, his brother-in-law, Bob Shaw, together with his neighbors the Winthrops, Philip Schuyler, "and the flower of the youth of the city," march off with the New York Seventh Regiment. While glad that the North was finally aroused to battle against slavery, Curtis looked with sadness to the bitter days that lay ahead.

Curtis prepared himself for service by daily drills with his neighbors but he was never drafted, escaping because of his age and because of his responsibilities as head of a family of five (Elizabeth Burrill Curtis was born in April, 1861, and Sarah Shaw Curtis, in May, 1863). He followed the fighting closely, however; he often went to Washington to confer with government officials, and visited army camps in that area. Visiting was, needless to say, more enjoyable than residing in a camp, but he was well aware of the hardships and hazards of a soldier's life and fully appreciated the sacrifices the soldiers were called upon to make.

Watching the conduct of campaigns and the actions of the Lincoln administration, Curtis reported on them in editorial fashion in his lectures and writings, which served as his not negligible contribution to the Union cause. In the initial stages of the war, his attitude, like that of many in the North, was an optimistic one. On August 19, 1861, he wrote to Charles Norton, ". . . it is my impression that the war will be very short. A great action seems to be imminent. Should it result

in another rout on our side, I think terms would be made." Norton was far less sanguine. "Its issue may soon become certain," he said, "but it will be long before we can lay down our arms." As the Southern army with the impetus of Bull Run behind it continued to make gains late in 1861 and in 1862, Curtis came around to Norton's point of view; in August, 1862, he felt that the country was in a very critical condition. "If things continue as they are, the cause is lost."

After this low point in the last months of 1862, the North's position began to improve, and Curtis felt a gradual return of confidence. General Ambrose Burnside, visiting Curtis's mother in February, 1863, expressed the conviction that, with resolution, "the war could be practically ended in six months." Curtis was encouraged by this and also by his feeling that "for the first time [July, 1863] we have a *real* confidence in our generals—in Grant, Meade, and Rosecrans." But there was still a long way to go.

Curtis realized from the start how difficult it was to follow the fluctuating course of the war. "I have long since learned that I know nothing of these inscrutable processes of war," he told Horatio Woodman. It was hard to evaluate battles and generals (though one might have faith in personal friends such as General Burnside), and it was hard to distinguish true from false reports. "I have found that the hardest thing in this war," Curtis said, "is to know whether people said and did what they are said to have said or done." He sometimes questioned the actions of the Northern generals and government officials, but he wisely avoided excessive "grandstand quarterbacking" and was always willing to examine both sides of a question.

This reasonable and balanced point of view led Curtis to a fair appraisal of President Lincoln. He recognized the President's merit well before most of his contemporaries ("the muse of the future will speak him fairer than her sister of the present"), and, though occasionally criticising his actions, he maintained his faith in Lincoln's leadership throughout the war. Curtis was uneasy at first because the President, "behind instead of before all the people," treated the conflict as a huge insurrection rather than a war. He sensibly reserved his judgment, however, and said in March, 1861:

. . . I have entire confidence in the practical wisdom of the administration. They know the actual details which *must* control action, and so long as I know that and do not doubt their loyalty I can stand waiting to understand their course.

He continued to support the President while the latter was forced to try general after general in search of a winning combination, and he expressed increasing confidence in Lincoln's judgment and common sense. Lincoln was a politician whom Curtis could respect, one who never separated politics from morality, one, who, as his admirable public addresses showed, had a profound faith in the fundamental American principle of liberty and equality. Shortly after the President's assassination Curtis wrote to Charles Sumner: "Already he is as historical and his figure as defined as if he had lived with Washington and Adams."

IN these years from 1860 to 1865 lyceum audiences beckoned Curtis as before, but he found, as he set out in the winter of 1860-61, that the literary lectures remained in his bag. Eager listeners preferred to hear him discourse on current affairs. From Maine to Milwaukee he talked about the slavery question and about the impending struggle. At Albany, on November 13, 1860:

The audience was immense, 2500 people packed into the new, large hall, and hundreds unable to get in. I spoke for an hour and twenty minutes—and please tell Mrs. Guild that I found I had cut out all the dragging passages. They listened more intently than to any lecture I have delivered, and even the old gentlemen standing in the aisles, stood to the end. There has never been any course of lectures here so popular as this.

To be sure, not all Northern towns were so receptive as Albany to anti-slavery orators such as Curtis, Beecher, Sumner, and Phillips. Curtis had remained *persona non grata* in Philadelphia after his speech the preceding year had precipitated a near-riot, and this winter the Philadelphia mayor advised him to cancel two scheduled lectures. He was likewise not received in Lima, Ohio.

When actual hostilities between the North and South broke out in 1861, the lyceum slowed up temporarily. Bayard Taylor wrote to Curtis on October 31, 1861, "What's to be the state of our busi-

ness this winter? I get precious few invitations, and from widely scattered places. What is your experience?" Curtis verified Taylor's suspicion that "business" would be poor; he had received not more than half the usual invitations, he said. But the institution quickly recovered its popularity, and by November 22, 1863, Curtis was writing to Longfellow, "The demand for lectures was never so general as this year, and we all talk of the times."

On the lyceum circuit, in special lecture courses, at college ceremonies, Curtis continued to "talk of the times" throughout the troubled war years. His oration, "The American Doctrine of Liberty," delivered at a Phi Beta Kappa meeting at Harvard in July, 1862, and repeated some forty times in the ensuing year, defined the American conception of liberty as the absolute personal and political freedom of every man. In it Curtis criticized those who were reluctant to give the soon-to-be-freed Negroes their civil rights, carelessly assuming that "a man born of any degree of duskiness" is "an ignorant, degraded, idle, knavish rascal." His other lectures dealt with related topics: "The Way of Peace," on emancipation; "Our Nationality," on the absorption of the freed slaves into the nation; "Political Infidelity," on the Southerners' attempt to keep an aristocracy in a free and popular government and to extend slavery in a governing system sprung from equal rights for all. On such subjects Curtis spoke his mind freely and vigorously, and his efforts were appreciated — at least above the Mason-Dixon line.

Despite Wendell Phillips's entreaties that he return west, where, said Phillips, writing from Iowa City, an eager audience awaited him:

> Your name is on every tongue–an ardent longing to hear you . . . Here, the best minds . . . weigh and digest all you say . . . I am going at Sumner the moment I get home to make him come. We can make the Lyceum the greatest power in the land (next to *Harper's Weekly*) if we can only get *you leading* speakers to come out here.

Curtis confined his lecturing to the East after the winter of 1860-61. The next year he spoke in Philadelphia, New London, and many other towns along the Eastern seaboard. In subsequent winters he appeared at lyceums in various New England and New

York state towns, from New Haven, where he was greeted by an immense audience and vigorously applauded even though "this is so much a southern city," to Concord, where his old friends, Emerson, Hawthorne, Judge Hoar, Alcott, and Ellery Channing received him gladly. His summer schedules included orations at colleges such as Dartmouth, Madison, Harvard ("Your oration lasts in the minds of men," Charles Norton assured him), and Brown, whose 100th anniversary he, as an "adopted son" of the University, helped celebrate in 1864. Everywhere he was cordially welcomed, and his speeches won favor with many, including his fellow lecturer, Phillips, who generously testified, "I'm only and always glad to plough after you or before. I hear of you and read you with equal gratitude."

Besides the lecture platform, Curtis had another medium for his war-time task of doing "what we can to maintain the public sentiment at the right height" — the editorial pages of *Harper's Weekly*. In December, 1863, suspending the Lounger column, he took on the job of political editor of the *Weekly*, a post which he held until his death, and, by means of which he reached, for many years, a vast audience. The *Weekly*, since its inception in 1857, had steadily grown in circulation, thanks to its happy faculty of appealing to the greatest body of readers, the average men who liked the week's news rather simply presented and supplemented with pictures and cartoons. By the end of 1861 it was being read by 120,000 people. The circulation continued to rise when Curtis took over the editorial page, even though he transformed the paper "by a gentle but continuously brave pressure" from a "semi-Secession" journal "into an anti-slavery and Republican" one. The influence of his editorials and articles during the war years was enormous. His calm and reasoned analysis of the course of events, his presentation of both sides of a question, his faith in the Union's cause and courage in upholding it won him the confidence of the North. Even the wounded soldiers in the hospitals were comforted and encouraged by his writing. The biographer James Parton spoke for all when he wrote to Curtis on July 15, 1864, "I know not how you could be more serviceable to the public than you are."

Such was Curtis's not negligible contribution to the anti-slavery cause.

The Poems of Emily Dickinson

By JOHN L. SPICER

ONE of the most important publications in the field of American literature in recent years has been the handsome, three-volume edition of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson,* edited by Thomas H. Johnson and issued by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Critics have agreed that this long-awaited *variorum* has equaled, indeed surpassed, all expectations. The Boston Public which, as a gift from Thomas Wentworth Higginson, owns the manuscript of one version or another of some eighty of the poems, is especially pleased with the acclaim. One wishes the work a success similar to that of the thin green volume in which Emily Dickinson's poetry was first offered to a presumably hostile world by Mabel Loomis Todd and Colonel Higginson. The Library has Higginson's own copy in which he noted on the inside cover: ". . . it sold 10,000 copies without especial effort, to the utter amazement of the editors, who would gladly have accepted a guarantee of 400!"

Perhaps for no other modern poet would a *variorum* edition be so necessary. Early or rejected versions of printed poems are usually of interest only to the specialized scholar; however, since Emily Dickinson had only seven of her poems published in her lifetime — and even these were altered by timid or careless editors — the printed text cannot be used as a test of her wishes. It is difficult to tell which of the existing versions is the earlier, and it is usually impossible to decide which version, if any, she rejected. One is confronted with a number of forms of the same poem — fair copies, draft copies, work copies, and even copies written as prose in the bodies of letters. They differ from each other in varying degrees, and often it is apparent that the poet had never made up her mind as to which version she preferred. Th reader has to choose for himself. With the aid of the present edition this is, for the first time, possible.

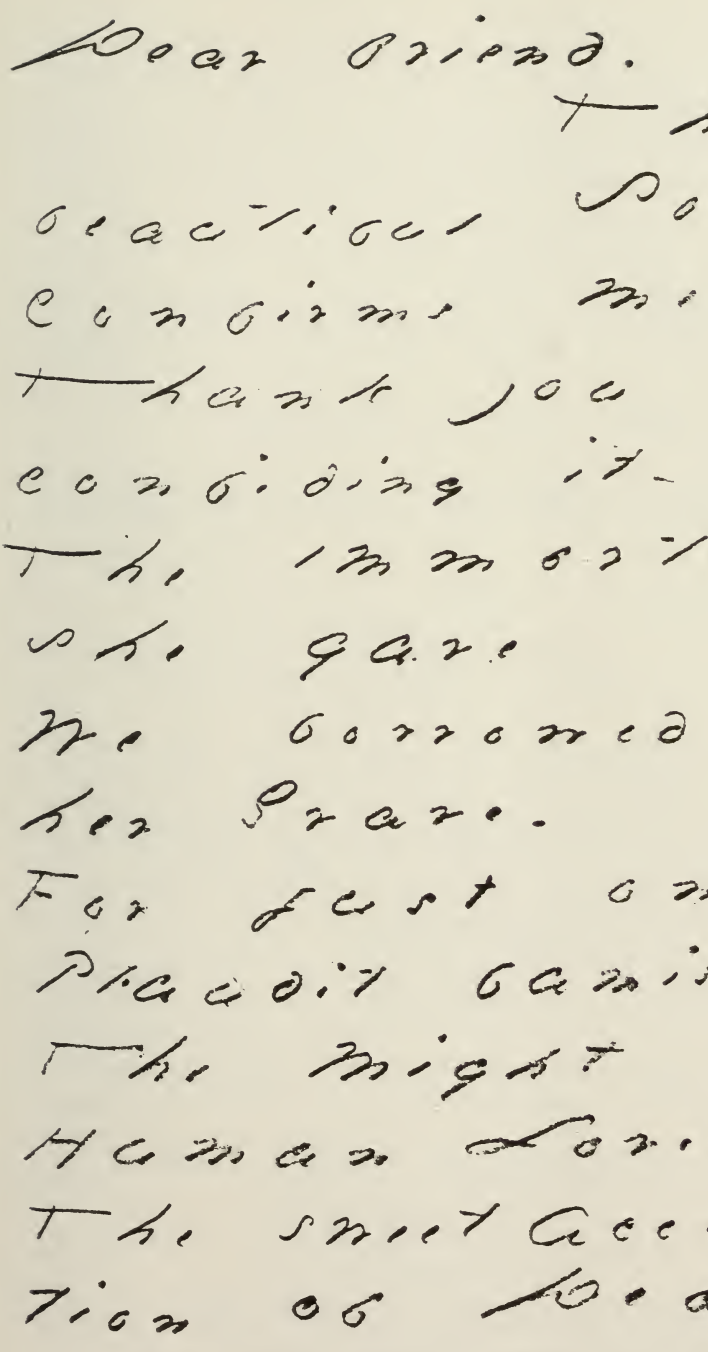
No edition can be perfect. Just as the new edition has had to take advantage of the efforts of earlier Dickinson students, so the work of many others will be needed to correct its minor

inexactitudes and omissions. The excellent use which the editor has made of the Higginson manuscripts in this edition is an incentive for a first attempt at such a contribution — solely from the examination of these manuscripts.

One of the most difficult problems of the editor has been the separation of prose from poetry. This may come as a surprise to some readers. The only surviving prose Emily Dickinson wrote occurs in her letters, and, in their published form, the poetry in them is always neatly set off from the prose. In her manuscripts, however, things are not so simple. She would often spread out her poetry on the page as if it were prose and even, at times, indent her prose as poetry. Mrs. Todd, who intended her collection of *Letters*[1] to be a popular edition, could not have been expected to reproduce this orthographic chaos. She was obliged to decide for herself what lines Emily regarded as poetry and what lines she did not.

On the whole, Mrs. Todd did very well in her selection. Some lines which she printed as prose occur as poetry in other places, and some lines she printed as poetry were almost certainly meant to be prose; but the general reader could ignore these small blemishes. In a *variorum* edition the task is more exacting. Assuming that what Emily meant as poetry must be taken out of her letters, how does one go about it? Should one only print variants of lines which she has used somewhere else in her poems? Should one set up a standard for indentation, rhyme, or meter? Or should one merely do again what Mrs. Todd tried to do and divide the poetry from the prose by guessing the poet's intentions? Mr. Johnson seems to have chosen this last solution.[2] But there is an added difficulty. When the *Letters* prints something as a poem which is not one, the reader can disregard it; or if the prose suddenly begins to rhyme, he can do his own indenting. In the new edition he has to depend on the editor's notes, which rarely contain the rest of the letter.[3]

An example is the letter to Colonel Higginson in which the poems numbered 1648 and 1647 appear in that order. The note to 1648 states: "Preceding the quatrain, and introducing it, in both drafts is the sentence, 'There is no Trumpet like the Tomb.' "[4] However, in the letter, following and not preceding the quatrain, the lines


Dear friend.

The

Practical Parrot

Confirms me.

Thank you for

confiding it.

The Immortality

She gave

Me bestowed at

her grave.

For first one

Placed confiding.

The might of

Human form.

The swift Acclama-

tion of Death

Letter by **Emily Dickinson** *Combining Prose and Poetry*

changes it.
There is no
Tumult like
the Tomb.
Of Glee, not a
Beam is lost-
But for Eternal
Hours.
The Anguish is
for the Dead.
The Living, for
the Years.

Did you not
find it so?

Your Sister.

Continuation of Letter by Emily Dickinson

read, "The sweet Acclamation of Death divulges it. There is no Trumpet like the Tomb." After that, without a break in form or sense, comes what the edition prints as 1647. In other words, what had been a single unit for the poet has been split into two poems, plus one line in the notes and one line omitted.

There are also problems of inclusion. Two-lined unrhymed sentences like 684 and 685 have little excuse for being presented as poems, although they were so printed in the *Letters*. Even more, 1161 is indistinguishable in indentation and capitalization from the other lines of the letter; but while

> Truth adjusts her "Peradventure"—
> Phantoms entered "and not you."

is offered as if it were a complete poem, the succeeding lines, printed here as they occur in a letter to Higginson, are not included in the new edition:

> How luscious is the dripping of Febuary eaves!
> It makes our thinking pink—
> It antedates the Robin—
> Bereaving in prospective
> that Febuary leaves—[5]

Not much of a poem, perhaps, when taken out of its context, but more so than many included under similar conditions.

The existence of other copies indented as poetry in the cases of 1069, 1208, and 1399 has necessitated the inclusion of passages which Mrs. Todd had printed as prose. One may mention that, in his notes to 1399, the main text of which derives from a work-sheet draft, the editor prints the version included in the letter to Higginson as poetry, although Emily had actually indented and capitalized it as prose.

The new edition excludes the following passage from a letter to Higginson:

> Would you with the Bee return,
> what a Firm of Noon!
> Death obtains the Rose, but
> the news of Dying goes
> no further than the Breeze.[6]

Mrs. Todd had printed this as a poem in the *Letters,* starting the fourth line with "but" and adding capitals at the beginning of this,

the second, and the fifth line. Except for these changes, one must agree with her.

The reason for the difficulty of drawing a line between the poetry and prose in Emily Dickinson's letters may be that she did not wish such a line to be drawn. If large portions of her correspondence are considered not as mere letters — and, indeed, they seldom communicate information, or have much to do with the person to whom they were written — but as experiments in a heightened prose combined with poetry, a new approach to both her letters and her poetry opens up. The new edition of her letters which Mr. Johnson promises for the future may provide evidence on this point.

A sizable number of the surviving poems — 133 of those included in the new edition — have no known autograph copy, and derive from transcripts or a later printed source. Often as well different versions of a poem have been copied out from manuscripts that no longer exist. One of the merits of the new edition is that it prints all of these. However, several versions which occur among the Library's Higginson Manuscripts seem to have been overlooked. Thus a letter from Mrs. Todd to Colonel Higginson written during the time they were editing the second series of the poems, contained two versions of poem 228 and one of these differs from anything printed by Mr. Johnson. The other is probably a copy of the version referred to in Millicent Todd Bingham's *Ancestors' Brocades,* (New York, 1945), p. 140, from which it was copied in the notes of the new edition. However, it varies in punctuation in four places from the manuscript in the Library.

Another transcript of interest, which may be the one which the new edition refers to as "lost" is a version of poem 824, probably in Mrs. Todd's handwriting. It varies from all the other versions printed by Mr. Johnson (including the one published in *Poems Second Series* that it may be the lost copy of) in punctuation, capitalization, and in that "livid Claw" of line 12 is rendered "Vivid Claw."

The note to poem 409 maintains:

> The transcript, made by Mrs. Todd, from which the published version derives, is among the T. W. Higginson papers at BPL. It is an accurate script, but penciled editing in the handwriting of Higginson regularized the first stanza into a quatrain by combining lines 1 and 2, and effects a rhyme for lines 6 and 8 by altering the word order of the last two lines to read;

> But God on his repealless list
> Can summon every face.

The text is so printed.

The nearest thing among the Higginson Manuscripts to what this note describes is a manuscript in Mrs. Todd's handwriting, which, however, has no editing on it and varies in punctuation and capitals from the text in the new edition. No other transcript of poem 409 exists among the papers, and there are no lacunae in this part of their numbering to suggest that there might have been one.

Several other letters from Mrs. Todd to Colonel Higginson contain information which might have been included in the notes. For example, in a letter of July 22, 1891 (printed in *Ancestors' Brocades,* p. 143-144) discussing poem 389, Mrs. Todd affirmed: ". . . the dog's belated feet *'were'* like intermittent *plush* — she wrote the word unmistakably, every letter distinct and separate."

Emily Dickinson's punctuation is difficult to follow. As Mr. Johnson writes, "Her use of the dash is especially capricious. Often it substitutes for a period and may in fact have been a hasty, lengthened dot intended for one. On occasion her dashes and commas are indistinguishable."[7] However, in the Library's manuscripts the pattern is fairly consistent. Her dashes slant downward to the right; her periods, even if lengthened, do not slant; her commas slant downward to the left. Her use of the dash certainly seems over-frequent, even for an age when writers tended to employ a great many dashes. But she usually used them as a sign of stress and tempo stronger than a comma and weaker than a period. There seem to be variations in the reproduction of the punctuation of the manuscripts of seventeen poems belonging to the Library[8] — although none of the differences change the meaning.

In the case of only three poems are there variations between the manuscripts and the printed text in matters of capitalization.[9] This is an excellent record, for, as Mr. Johnson points out, a number of Emily Dickinson's capitals can only be distinguished from their lower-case counterparts by their size. In spelling only two minor differences occur: poem 319 has "teazes" in the manuscript instead of "teases"; and 1487, "Fellow men" instead of "Fellowmen".

In what may have been the haste of inspiration, Emily Dickinson would often divide her lines in erratic places. The new edition is

laudably conservative in correcting these slips, and usually it reports them. There are exceptions in five cases,[10] where the change was introduced without notice. In only one does the omission seem to matter. In his note to poem 1209, Mr. Johnson states, "ED ran lines 17 and 18 together; they are here separated, as she probably intended them to be, with 'but' capitalized." However, the edition has made the same change with lines 1 and 2 which Emily Dickinson also "ran together" in the Library's manuscript! It seems considerably less likely that the poet combined the opening lines of both the first and last stanza without definite intention.

The new edition makes excellent use of supplementary evidence in its notes. Envelopes have been carefully examined for signs of date; the floral gifts that Emily often sent with poems have been, when possible, reported. It might be mentioned, however, that three of the latter — a flower, a leaf, and a rose for poems 86, 1257, and 1364 respectively — are still preserved among the Higginson Manuscripts, although their existence is merely speculated upon in the notes.

Finally, an addition should be made to the note to poem 986 and, for that matter, to the bibliography of Emily Dickinson. Mr. Johnson rightly conjectures that Emily had "evidently enclosed a clipping" of the poem "from the *Republican,*" with a letter in which she complains of the punctuation of its third and fourth lines. This clipping still exists among the Higginson papers. But it is not, as the note suggests, from the February 14, 1866 issue of the Springfield *Daily Republican,* but from the February 17, 1866 issue of the Springfield *Weekly Republican,* although the poem appeared in both papers. There are a number of differences in punctuation between the two printings, and also one word-change — "but" to "yet" in line 21. Lines 3 and 4, of which Emily wrote to Higginson: "defeated too of the third line by the punctuation. The third and fourth were one —" reads

> You may have met him—did you not?
> His notice instant is,

instead of

> You may have met him—did you not,
> His notice instant is.

as it appeared in the *Daily Republican* and is cited in the notes. This makes her complaint easier to understand.

The pleasures of the new edition are many. One may observe the poet at work, mark all her revisions and hesitations, and even discover new facts about her life. Best of all, it enables one to enjoy the whole of Emily Dickinson's poetry in exactly the form she wrote it.

Notes

1. *Letters of Emily Dickinson* (New York, 1931).

2. In his note to poem 1637 Mr. Johnson writes: "It is impossible in such a *jeu d'esprit* to be sure where the prose leaves off and the poetry begins, a situation that in many instances ED seems to have intended." True, yet not all the eighty-six poems which are known solely from their occurrence in letters are of that nature.

3. Among the poems for which key prose passages are not included in the notes are 1600, 1602, 1390, 1294, and 1259. One of the poems, 1390, is not a complete sentence in the letter; yet the remainder, "is Sunset's perhaps only" is omitted from the notes, and there is no mention that the sentence is incomplete.

4. The other draft referred to is the first trial draft of this letter. It was published in *Letters,* p. 391. In reproducing the draft Mrs. Todd prints "There is no trumpet like a tomb" as part of the poem, although on p. 321 she prints the finished letter with the line as prose.

5. *Letters,* pp. 297–298; transcribed here from the letter.

6. *Letters,* p. 306.

7. *Poems,* I, p. lxiii.

8. Poems 1564, 322, 325, 321, 815, 1183, 1260, 1256, 1255, 1364, 1463, 1602, 409, 1138, 686, 1360.

9. Poems 228, 409, and 1399.

10. Poems 1399, 86, 815, 1209, and 1210.

The "Success" by Emily Dickinson

By WILLIAM H. MATCHETT

THOMAS H. JOHNSON'S edition of *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* makes it possible at last to cut through the emendations of various well-meaning editors and to read all of the poems as Dickinson wrote them. If the result is frequently less than definitive — simply because the poet herself left more than one version of a poem, or did not make a final choice among essayed words — it is good to have the full evidence. That the long history of the Dickinson feud has not yet come to its conclusion is amusingly illustrated by facing pages of the new edition, on one of which Harvard lays claim to the manuscripts in Mrs. Bingham's possession while, on the other, Johnson acknowledges Mrs. Bingham's courtesy in making those manuscripts available for his use. In the meantime — and regardless of who establishes final title to the disputed manuscripts — we may be grateful to everyone involved for the fact that the material is at last available.

Johnson prints all the variants and the publishing history of each of the 1775 poems known to be extant. In such a large undertaking, errors are inevitable. I call attention to a few necessary corrections, not because I wish to disparage the new edition but because the poem concerned is prominent in the publishing history and the record should be set straight.

"Success" was the seventh and last of Dickinson's poems to be published while she was alive. Five poems had appeared in the Springfield *Daily Republican,* edited by the poet's friend Samuel Bowles; one poem had appeared in *The Round Table,* a weekly edited by the poet's "cousin by marriage, Henry E. Sweetser, and his cousin, Charles H. Sweetser" (Johnson, pp. 255-256). "Success" was the only one of her poems to be published in a book during her lifetime, appearing on p. 174 of the anonymous anthology *A Masque of Poets* (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1878). Perhaps because this publication lent its prestige, perhaps because it is poignantly appropriate, the poem opened the first Todd-Higginson collection, *Poems by Emily Dickinson* (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1890, p. 13), and retained that primary position in the last Bianchi-Hampson collection, *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1937).[1]

Johnson, in his introduction, provides a full account of the proc-

ess by which "Success" reached print. Helen Hunt Jackson had seen, or been given, a copy of the poem by Higginson, to whom it had been sent by Dickinson in 1862. In October of 1878, having failed in three attempts to secure a contribution from Dickinson for the Roberts Brothers' anthology, Mrs. Jackson wrote to the poet proposing that she, Mrs. Jackson, be allowed to submit " 'Success' — which I know by heart." As Johnson makes clear, Mrs. Jackson had obviously submitted the poem without permission, for "the volume was on sale three weeks later, and . . . must already have been coming from the bindery at the time Mrs. Jackson wrote the last letter" (p. xxxii). The poet "had by then become psychologically incapable of consenting to allow her verses to be printed" (p. xxix). Johnson demonstrates convincingly that this incapacity was not a timid fear of publication itself, but a considered rejection of the compromises it involved. "At the time she wrote Higginson [1862] she does not seem to be trying to avoid publishing. On the contrary, she seems to be inquiring how one can publish and at the same time preserve the integrity of one's art" (p. xxvi). She stopped seeking publication, or allowing her poems to be published, because the editors, even though they were her friends, "corrected" her lines before printing them. When "Success" was printed, Johnson tells us, "Five alterations had been introduced into the text" (p. xxxiii). It is on this point that the record should be corrected.

Johnson, as a matter of fact, contradicts himself. Having mentioned five alterations in his introduction, he writes, in discussing the individual poem: "the editor, Thomas Niles,[2] acknowledged to ED that he had made some editorial alterations. He had in fact made six" (p. 54). The source of the contradiction is immediately apparent: changes are quoted in five lines, but the change from "Burst agonized and clear" to "Break, agonizing clear" may be counted as two.

The numerical contradiction is not of much importance; it led me, however, to reinspect my copy of *A Masque of Poets,* and the fact is that two of the changes Johnson indicates do not occur in that volume — of which there was only one edition — nor, as far as I have been able to discover, do they occur in any other. Johnson, in listing the changes made by Niles,[3] tells us that, in line 2, the "who" was altered to "that" and, in line 3, "a nectar" was altered to "the nectar"; neither of these alterations occurs in *A Masque of*

Poets, which retains both the "who" and the indefinite article. Failing to find either change in any of the printed versions of the poems, I must suppose that they are phantoms. Neither of them is such a change as an editor would be likely to make.

While on the subject of this poem, it is perhaps worth raising one question if only to drop it again and to confirm one of Johnson's assumptions. Can any of the changes in the text be explained on the basis of Mrs. Jackson's claim to know the poem by heart? That is, could it be that some or all of the changes were not conscious emendations but lapses in Mrs. Jackson's memory? It is, of course, possible that such was the case, but the evidence does not tend to support the possibility. There is, in the first place, Niles' acknowledgement that he had made some changes, though we do not know how many. Then — unless Mrs. Jackson's memory was unbelievably exact — there is evidence that she depended not upon recollection but upon a written copy of the poem as Higginson had it.

Johnson does not reproduce the multitude of erratic (and generally unimportant) variations in capitalization. It is worth noting, however, that the version printed in *A Masque of Poets* agrees with the version sent Higginson, and differs from the 1859 ms., both of which Johnson reproduces (p. 53), not only in being written without stanza division, but in capitalizing "Nectar" in line 3 and "Purple" in line 5. It is true that in other cases — indeed in a larger number of cases — Niles' version agrees with the 1859 ms. and not with Higginson's in words written without capitals ("comprehend," "definition," "he" and "clear"). However, the probability that this situation results not from any direct connection between Niles' version and the 1859 ms. but from a general removal of excess capitals is argued by the fact that capitals are missing, in Niles' version, on "flag" and "triumph," which have them in both the early versions. Since the general tendency in the 1878 version was to remove unnecessary capitals, the fact that the four which remain ("Nectar," "Purple Host" and "Victory") are all present in the Higginson version argues that Mrs. Jackson had a copy of that version in writing, which is indeed Johnson's assumption (p. xxix).

All unnecessary capitals were removed from the version of the poem printed in the 1890 Todd-Higginson collection which, as Johnson notes, differs from the 1859 ms. only in accepting Niles' "Break" in the last line, rather than the "Burst" of the original.

Since Niles was the publisher of the 1890 volume as well as the 1878, we should not be surprised that one of his emendations was retained but rather that the rest of them were corrected. The Bianchi-Hampson collection takes its text of the poem directly from the 1890 volume. "Burst" is, however, not only the poet's word, but the better word in its context, carrying more of the emotionally overwhelming nature of the trumpet notes of triumph. The return to this original word is but one of the innumerable details for which both history and art are in debt to the new edition.

Notes

1. The titles of these two volumes are confused in the new edition—the 1890 being listed as *Poems of Emily Dickinson* (p. lxvii) and the 1937 as *Poems by Emily Dickinson* (p. lxviii)—although Johnson gives them correctly in his Dickinson bibliography in Volume III of the *Literary History of the United States* (New York, MacMillan, 1948).

2. Mrs. Bingham mentions George Parsons Lathrop as editor of the volume published by Niles (*Ancestors' Brocades,* New York: Harper 1945, p. 84). Johnson makes no mention of Lathrop.

3. P. 54; the assertion is repeated in Johnson's *Emily Dickinson: An Interpretive Biography,* Cambridge, Mass.: (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1955) p. 171.

Satan in Puritan Preaching

By EDWARD K. TREFZ

(*Continued from the April issue*)

PERHAPS one of the greatest fears that troubled the pious was that they might be guilty of the sin of hypocrisy and false security. More homiletical energy was expended to combat this wile of Satan than any other. Those who live "as though they had no envious Devils plotting against them"[43] are the ones most under the devil's power. Those within the covenant could not relax their vigilance, for as soon as they thought themselves safe, they were most vulnerable. Willard therefore warned against the attitude of security in the enjoyment of the gospel of grace and exhorted instead to spend the time on earth in a holy fear.[44] Stoddard was sure that hell was difficult to escape, and that many who believed they would escape it, would not.[45] Cotton Mather quoted with approval, "Whether you think of it or no, hell fire burns, and your not thinking of it will bring you hither."[46]

Puritanism was particularly conducive to perils regarding the certainty of salvation. To the extent that it was a discipline and a conscious covenant to obey the will of God, it was subject to the dangers that always accompany a legalistic religion. To set out to keep God's law is a wholly commendable thing, but to believe one has done so is to commit the sin of presumption. On the other hand, the warnings against a false security and the determined attempts to drive men to a higher devotion were bound to produce grave doubts as to whether they had done enough to be confident of their salvation. The fear that one could go far in his religion and yet be a hypocrite was ever present in Puritan piety. "If Satan can persuade us to cry Peace, Peace; if he can but rock us asleep in carnall security, he hath what he would and we should smart for it."[47]

One cannot be secure in the faith, because the thing that matters most is whether the heart be right. The outward appearances count for nothing if the inner disposition be faulty. To be numbered among the faithful is nothing if God does not

command the citadel of man's inmost being. "Have we not given the shell to God, and the kernel to the Devil; the chaff to God, and the wheat to the Devil?"[48] Satan had no objection to a man's attending church, praying, giving alms, reading scripture, and all else that is expected of the faithful, if somehow he could keep him from yielding his heart, for "this is the stronghold whereof being possessed, he endeavors to keep it with all his force."[49]

There were also those who seemed to believe that learning made faith unnecessary. In answer to this, the preachers pointed out that the devils have more learning and more cunning than any man can have and yet "they're the worst, the most vile, abominable creatures that have being."[50] Men can sit under effective gospel preaching and yet never be touched by the message of salvation. This was because the devil had given them vain hopes and false assurances. Their faith was misplaced, and it might well be that they would go to hell under the delusion that they were on their way to heaven.[51] Even Eve was told that by obedience to the serpent she would not die. If Peter and Judas, members of Christ's chosen company, were not secure against the assaults of Satan, it well behooves every Christian to beware lest his supposed security prove to be his undoing.

Another threat to piety was seen in the opposite direction. If the devil failed to win a soul by false optimism, he might seek to cause one to lose faith in God by arousing in him a sense of despair. When he could not convince a man that his sins did not matter, he might succeed in convincing him that they were so black as to place him beyond hope. Sometimes Satan would say to man, "There is yet time," and again he would say, "Now it is too late."[52] To the devil the means were immaterial so long as he was effective in turning a man from God.

Afflictions sent by God to try men also gave Satan a good opportunity to fill their hearts with black thoughts concerning God. Hooker warned, "to make the power of sin greater to condemn thee than the power of God to save thee; to make the power of Satan stronger to ruinate thee than the power of God

to relieve thee and succour thee . . . Is this not to make God the underling to Satan and to sin?"[53] The mood of despair gives the forces of evil the supreme place which only God should have. This is precisely why Satan schemes to promote despair so that he may receive the allegiance that belongs to God alone. If one sin was deserving of eternal condemnation, what of the many sins that had been committed before conversion and those which were committed afterward? Such thoughts were continually raised in the minds of the pious. If such thoughts of sin clouded the knowledge of grace, the soul was on its way to ruin. The preachers, at least, could see Satan's hand in it.

While the faithful were at peace with God, the devil's spite was stirred. If tribulation came, he added to the load to bring them to ruin. When he succeeded in drawing them away from the faith, he immediately set out to lull them into security in order to keep them there. Willard wrote that Satan "will keep men secure as long as he can, yet if God disquiet them, and he cannot wheedle them into rest, he now seeks to hurry them over the precipice of despair."[54]

The unpardonable sin seemed to trouble the Puritan conscience as it has that of many believers throughout the ages. If a man believed he had committed the unpardonable sin, his faith was lost that God would redeem him. Wadsworth offered this word of comfort after citing many authorities who had written concerning it, "they count not guilty of the unpardonable sin, who are heartily distressed and grieved fearing they are guilty of it."[55] Help was offered from I Corinthians 10:13, where it was written: "There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way of escape, that ye may be able to bear it."

A people who had made a covenant, as the Puritans had, and had broken it by failing to live up to their promises, were inclined to wonder whether they could renew a covenant which had been broken. Stoddard observed, "Satan is wont to approve their fall unto their discouragement; and raises such mists that day is turned unto night unto them."[56] As Peter was given

another chance, hope was held for the people who would not give way unto Satan. Disillusionment and discouragement were his effective instruments. Cotton Mather remarked "it is the sport of that old fool to see us under the mischiefs of dejection all our dayes."[57]

In the case of grief for personal bereavement the devil had yet another opportunity. Excessive sorrow invited him to take advantage. "If we refuse God's consolations, we shall readily be brought to entertain Satan's prejudices."[58] It was therefore a sign of lack of faith to mourn immoderately. Grief could lead to despair, and that to suicide. This was a final and complete triumph for Satan, for the lost man had forfeited his last chance to repent. On a few occasions sermons were published which had been preached at the funerals of men who had taken their own lives.[59]

RELATED to despair were doubt and atheism. The preaching of salvation was heard far more often than it was taken to heart. The reluctance of men to accept it was the work of the adversary. Benjamin Colman, impatient with those who would not heed the good news of the gospel, exclaimed, "What Satanic force and energy must it be that keeps you negligent about it, and averse unto the purchased and offered salvation?"[60] The truth of the gospel was so compelling that the preacher was unable to understand the hesitancy of the unconverted. The power to hold the unbeliever in a state of impenitence was the power of Satan. If neither the pangs of conscience nor the fear of divine wrath reached such a soul, he must be under Satan's influence indeed. Chauncy called this a manifestation of the "horrible depth of Satan's subtilty."[61]

The Puritan preacher saw a large element of the rational in his faith, although, like Thomas Aquinas, he believed some religious truth was above reason, but not contrary to reason. Therefore, when a sinner resisted the eloquent efforts of the preacher, he was thought to possess a prodigious hardness of heart. Moreover, it was in the realm of reason where Satan was able to raise questions, stir confusion, and cause a man to doubt.

Hooker advised against entering "the lists of dispute" with the devil on problems such as whether one is elect or not. This was the same strategem that thieves use when they lure a traveller into a desolate place.[62] The devil tried this very thing on Jesus himself, suggesting some doubt as to whether he were the Son of God.[63] He failed in this instance, but often he succeeds.

In his *Meditations and Spiritual Exercises,* Thomas Shepard wrote that whenever discouragement came upon him, Satan trod him down. He further observed that "if Satan had once made us begin to doubt, he would hold us with doubts continually."[64] The remedy is to trust in God and the gospel implicitly. This trust must be more than an intellectual assent. The devils themselves know of God and his powers, but they are nevertheless lost and hopeless creatures. The faithful must yield themselves to God, and such annoying thoughts as may be injected into their minds against God must be recognized as the darts of the devil and be rejected utterly.

The preachers sought to bring hope and assurance to their people who were often plagued with honest doubt. They reiterated the promises of scripture, and Wadsworth asked, "Whom wilt thou believe, the God that cannot lye, or Satan the father of lyes?"[65] If the believer rejects these doubts and rests himself anew in the promises of the Word, his hard thoughts will not be held against him. To use a vivid figure of Wadsworth's, these thoughts are "the Devil's brats, though he lays them at thy door."[66] The text in Romans 16:20, that God "will tread Satan under your feet shortly," was frequently quoted as a means of assurance that, though one was tried with doubt, if one stood fast Satan would soon be put down. Hooker also offered the counsel that one perplexed by doubt should doubt his doubts. "Keep your stations wisely; for neither the Devil nor all the Devils in hell, ever knew the mind of the Lord."[67] God alone knows whether or not the heart of the hardest sinner might not finally be broken and the word received.

Some of the sermons suggest that vile passions of one type or another, as well as harmful social attitudes, were inspired by a specific devil of envy, of rage, or of hatred. For example,

Cotton Mather stated that ungoverned anger was the result of man's having a "choleric Devil" within him. This devil, he said, was an unusually stubborn one and could only be cast out by fasting and prayer. To allow such a devil to remain in one's bosom was disastrous.[68] This identification of a particular passion with a specific devil, however, was unusual, and even in this instance was probably figurative. Nevertheless, crimes of passion were believed to be inspired by Satan, and the persons committing such crimes were referred to as children of the devil.

Because of his lack of love for his brother Abel, Cain was called by John Cotton "the eldest son of the Devil."[69] Hooker made the application even broader by asserting that any man who set himself against honor and right was a son of the devil. John 8:44 provided the scriptural warrant for identifying all immoral deeds and attitudes as service to Satan. The teachings of Jesus make it plain that the inner attitude is the source from which sins of passion spring. The evil impulse is sinful as well as the actual commitment of the act. The method used by Satan was first to stir malice and venom in the soul, and then to push one to commit the overt act. The more heinous the crime, the greater was Satan's delight. It was the duty of Christians, therefore, to resist these vile passions, to discipline their base lusts, and to refrain from acts of sensual gratifications.

The Puritans also gave homiletical expression to their loathing of idleness. It was well recognized that much that man did by way of mischief and worse was done during his leisure time. Doing good things was the best means of averting the pitfalls of idleness. According to Wadsworth: "If thou are not doing some work for God, well employed in some good thing, the Devil will be ready to employ thee, to offer some cursed business or other to thee. If you would not fall into vile scandal, then be diligent in some lawful business."[70] Yet the Puritan was not opposed to all forms of recreation, nor was he a killjoy who failed to see that life needs relaxation and fun. While Increase Mather was President of Harvard two students were drowned while skating. In his funeral sermon he remarked that there was nothing wrong with skating if moderately done.[71] Diversions had their place, but the Puritan was wary of giving

them too large a place. His attack was against idleness, not against recreation. Because one is off-guard in his leisure hours, Satan's suggestions are more readily entertained.

Willard pointed out that it was while David was walking on the roof in Jerusalem, instead of being in the field with the army, that the Bathsheba incident had its beginning.[72] Similar experiences can be cited from almost any life in any age. The practice of city dwellers "to laze and tipple, to set and doze" in taverns was regarded as vile and shameful.[73] As Cotton Mather phrased it, "Ordinarily no man does nothing. If men have nothing to do, they'll soon do too much; do what they ought not."[74] Therefore, an occupation was an ordinance of God, and it was for the welfare of a man's soul that he diligently pursue it.

Considerable time was wasted in ale-houses and taverns; and, apart from the habit of drinking, liquor was further identified as an instrument of Satan. Cotton Mather called ale-houses the "very suburbs of hell," and concerning the drinking of liquor he wrote, "the devil goes down with every unlawful drop."[75] Rum, apparently new to the colonists, was called "Kill-Devil." John Wilson was cited as having said that it was misnamed, for it should be called "Kills men for the Devil." Cider and rum were termed by Cotton Mather, "a flood cast out of the mouth of the dragon" which threatened to swallow up the whole of religion in many parts of the country.[76]

For all this, the Puritans were not prohibitionists. Their guns were aimed not so much at liquor as at drunkenness. No advocate was found for the abolition of its use in this period, but the abuse and misuse of it were scathingly condemned. As with most sins, Satan was seen to be the originator of the sin of drunkenness, although the closest they came to basing this on scripture was I John 3:8, where it is stated that the devil sinneth from the beginning. Increase Mather wrote of a man who, when he was confronted by the devil, was told he must commit the sin of drunkenness, adultery, or murder. The man decided that of the three he would choose drunkenness, for it seemed to him to be less wicked than the others. This choice, however, showed the subtlety of Satan, for when the man became drunk, he slept with his neighbor's wife, and later mur-

dered his neighbor lest he revenge himself.[77] Once a man gives himself to excessive drinking, other wicked deeds inevitably flood in upon him. Money spent upon liquor is spent in the service of the devil, for it cannot be used to honor the Lord, to provide for a family, or to serve one's fellowmen. The atmosphere of the ale-house causes one to relax his self-discipline and place himself at the mercy of temptations. When men become drunken they are bad examples for others. Their conduct becomes a source of grief to their families, their ministers, and Christian neighbors. Practically every modern argument against the use of liquor can be found in the sermons of the Puritan preachers.

One objection to drunkenness, however, seems to be quite typically Puritan. When liquor is used freely, men give themselves to vain conversation. But frivolous talk was unworthy of a Christian, and to engage in it was to take the first step toward irreverence. Wadsworth observed that often those who tippled in the ale-houses would bring religion into their discussion — which was a device of the devil to make religion ridiculous and the ministers odious to these people.[78] Increase Mather wrote of notorious drunkards who confessed on their death beds, "Ale houses are hell houses."[79] The practice of drinking to one's health was also widely condemned, but on slightly different grounds. Such customs were first practiced, the Puritans said, in pagan ceremonies. For Christians to carry on such a custom was to engage in a heathen rite, and consequently to violate the second commandment.[80]

THE Puritans were well aware that one's companions have a profound influence upon his life. Thus the preacher did his utmost to show how bad men are the emissaries of hell and the messengers of Satan, and to caution against the cultivation of such associates. Through the growth of friendships with undesirable companions, one is led into practices that direct his steps in the way of destruction. As Thomas Hooker stated it, "If the Devil himself were incarnate he could doe no more."[81] Wadsworth observed that such friendships lead toward a

greater relish for "play-books, romances, filthy songs and ballads, than for the Holy Scriptures which are able to make wise to salvation thro' faith in Christ Jesus."[82]

Little compassion was shown for the people who delighted in dragging others down into the mire. Speaking of just such "unhappy wretches," Cotton Mather asked, "What can be the fate of such fools, but a double damnation, and a damnation that slumbers not."[83] The sinlessness of Christ was due to the fact that there was nothing in His nature for the devil to fasten upon. In ordinary mortals this is not so. Those who served evil did it whole-heartedly, while those who claimed to serve Christ usually did so with reservations. To fall in with evil men, therefore, to join them in the taverns, in their gaming, their cards, their drinking, and their ribald singing and story-telling, was to separate oneself from the company of the godly.

Whatever seemed unworthy was identified with the operations of Satan. In this broad sense, one can derive a fairly clear picture of Puritan morality. Those who were hesitant to support the cause of missions — in their case, the movement to spread the gospel to the Indians — seemed to Wadsworth to be "too much on Satan's side as tho' they would have nothing done to disturb his interest."[84] Those who seemed too comfortable in their warm houses and unwilling to make any sacrifices for the gospel were threatened with the discomforts and horrors of hell as a just retribution.[85] Too great an interest in the goods of this world, too much happiness and satisfaction in one's prosperity, was a form of idolatry and constituted worship of the prince of this world rather than God. When Satan offered Christ the kingdoms of this world, he bid it to the highest, "But what is all this world to the things God promises to us in case we resist temptation?"[86]

Similarly, if there were quarreling among the children of a family, Satan was thought to dwell in that house. Children who curse their parents, are "the seed of the serpent."[87] Many exhortations were directed toward women. Since the devil seduced Eve, he was thought to have a special design upon the weaker sex. Women were believed to be naturally more vain and thus more easily susceptible to his wiles. "If a woman

spends more time in dressing than she does in praying or in working out her own salvation, her dress is but a snare for her soul."[88] The virtuous woman should not dance, for the dance was "the pompous procession of the Devil." To use paints and make-up was also to be eschewed by the Christian woman, for the devil was the inventor of "this hellish art," and only lust or pride could prompt the use of it.[89] Sins of fornication or adultery were regarded as horrendous. To use the body, which should be the temple of the Holy Spirit, in the employ of Satan would surely receive the wrath of God in the hereafter. Only unfeigned repentance and reformation could prevent it.

In conclusion it might be observed that all the practices and customs which Puritanism found immoral were identified as the fruit of Satan's labor. Swearing, cursing, Sabbath breaking, neglect of public worship and private prayer, disobedience to parents and magistrates, promise-breaking, slandering, backbiting, prejudice, bribery, murder, theft, fraud — the whole gamut of human vices was the result of the devil's efforts to undermine the gospel and the establishment of a kingdom of righteousness.

It should be pointed out, however, that the burden of Puritan preaching was not merely negative. The glories of heaven and the joys of the good life were given as much, or more, attention than the horrors of hell and the miseries of evil. The two approaches were thought to be two sides of the same coin. Both types of preaching sought the same end, to save the sinner from the devil's way and to persuade him to turn to God. Neither must one think that the place Satan was given lessened the accountability resting upon the sinner. The preacher's allusions to Satan and his vivid descriptions of the torments of hell were intended to induce men to renounce evil and follow the way of righteousness.

Notes

43. Cf. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Twelve Single Sermons on Various Subjects Tending to Promote Godliness* (Boston, 1711), 148.

44. Cf. Samuel Willard, *Useful Instructions for a professing People In Times of great Security and Degeneracy* (Cambridge, 1673), 33.

45. Cf. Solomon Stoddard, *The Efficacy of Fear.*

46. Cotton Mather, *Christianus Per Ignem* (Boston, 1702), 22.

47. Samuel Willard, *The Christian's Exercise By Satans Temptations* (Boston, 1701), 153.

48. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Psalms Should Be Sung with Grace in the Heart,* 61.

49. Samuel Willard, *The Heart Garrisoned* (Cambridge, 1676), 5.

50. Benjamin Wadsworth, *The Sin of Pride Described and Condemned,* 7.

51. Cf. Thomas Hooker, *The Saints Dignitie and Dutie* (London, 1651), 67.

52. Cf. Nehemiah Walter, *Discourse on the Whole LVth Chapter of Isaiah* (Boston, 1755), 364f.

53. Thomas Hooker, *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ,* 30.

54. Samuel Willard, *The Truly Blessed Man* (Boston, 1700), 179.

55. Benjamin Wadsworth, *A Guide for the Doubting and a Cordial for the Fainting Spirit* (Boston, 1715), 110.

56. Solomon Stoddard, *The Tryal of Assurance* (Boston, 1692), 16.

57. Cotton Mather, *Balsamum Vulnerarium Ex Scriptura* (Boston, 1691), 124.

58. Samuel Willard, *The Mourners Cordial Against Excessive Sorrow* (Boston, 1691), 124.

59. Cf. Increase Mather, *A Call to the Tempted, A sermon on the Horrid Crime of Self-Murder* (Boston, 1723/4).

60. Benjamin Colman, *Some of the Glories of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London, 1728), 243.

61. Charles Chauncy, *The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner in the Sight of God* (London, 1659), 260.

62. Cf. Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Effectual Calling to Christ* (London, 1637), 566.

63. Cf. Thomas Shepard, *The Parable of the Ten Virgins,* 78.

64. Thomas Shepard, *Meditations and Spiritual Exercises* (London, 1640) *Works,* III, 438.

65. Benjamin Wadsworth, *A Guide for the Doubting and a Cordial for the Fainting Spirit,* 104.

66. *Ibid.,* 187.

67. Thomas Hooker, *Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ,* 49.

68. Cf. Cotton Mather, *Febrifugium* (Boston, 1717), 14.

69. John Cotton, *A Practical Commentary . . . Upon The First Epistle Generall of John* (London, 1656), 253.

70. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Twelve Single Sermons on Various Subjects,* 100.

71. Increase Mather, *A Discourse Concerning the Uncertainty of the Times of Men* (Boston, 1697). The point of this sermon was to warn that since no man knows when death will strike, he must always be doing something that is proper so he will be ready when the stroke comes. Mather knew of a horrible example to the contrary — he knew of a case where cards were being played when death struck!

72. Samuel Willard, *The Christian's Exercise by Satan's Temptations,* 164.

73. Cf. Wadsworth, *Vicious Courses Procuring Poverty Describ'd and Condemn'd* (Boston, 1719), 16.

74. Cotton Mather, *A Christian at his Calling* (Boston, 1701), 41.

75. Cotton Mather, *Batteries upon the Kingdom of the Devil,* 29.

76. Cotton Mather, *Frontiers Well-Defended* (Boston, 1707), 34.

77. Increase Mather, *Wo to Drunkards* (Boston, 1712), 42.

78. Benjamin Wadsworth, *An Essay to do Good by disswasive from Tavern haunting and Excessive Drinking* (Boston, 1710), 10.

79. Increase Mather, *Wo to Drunkards,* 42.

80. Cf. Cotton Mather, *Thirty Important Cases Resolved With Evidence of Scripture and Reason* (Boston, 1699), 13.

81. Thomas Hooker, *A Saint's Dignitie and Dutie,* 180.

82. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Faithful Warning Against Bad-Company-Keeping* (Boston, 1722), 7.

83. Cotton Mather, *The Nets of Salvation* (Boston, 1794), 19.

84. Benjamin Wadsworth, *An Essay for the Charitable Spreading of the Gospel Into Dark Ignorant Places* (Boston, 1718), 16.

85. Cf. Benjamin Wadsworth, *Invitations to the Gospel Feast,* 23f.

86. Nehemiah Walter, *A Plain Discourse on Vain Thoughts which are great Hinderances of Men's Being Saved* (Boston, 1721).

87. Benjamin Colman, *The Honour and Happiness of a Vertuous Woman* (Boston, 1716), 10.

88. Cotton Mather, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion* (Cambridge, 1691), 76.

89. *Ibid.,* 16.

90. *Ibid.,* 22.

Cruikshank Drawings for *The Drunkard's Children*

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK was born in London on September 27, 1792. His father, who settled there as a young man, was a caricaturist of ability. George, his brother Isaac, and his sister Eliza are said to have inherited a talent for drawing, and were brought up helping their father in his business by coloring his black and white prints. George actually drew parts and helped to etch his father's plates, thus paving the way for earning money by illustrating children's penny books, comic valentines, and street ballad literature associated with the "Cries of London."

This article is concerned chiefly with two unique pencil and wash drawings by George Cruikshank that are studies for his book of illustrations entitled *The Drunkard's Children,* published in 1848. This publication was a companion piece to *The Bottle,* and both were conceived as a crusade against alcoholism.

The Print Department has a presentation copy of *The Bottle,* with the artist's inscription "To Geo. Cruikshank Roger, Esqr., Barrister at Law, from his Friend Geo. Cruikshank, Dec. 28, 1874." On the title-page is printed the following paragraph:

> Mr. George Cruikshank thinks it right to state that the first edition of this "Bottle" (the title of which ought to have been "The *Black* Bottle,") was first published in 1847, *double* the size of this edition, and sold at One Shilling. And he wishes it to be further understood that these *smaller plates* are taken from the *original Etchings,* which he has in his own possession. And Mr. George Cruikshank's object in producing this work of "The Bottle" was to assist, if possible, in putting a stop to the poverty, misery, wretchedness, insanity, and crime which are caused by strong drink. And this "Bottle" was published before G. C. became a Teetotaller; but upon mature reflection he came to the conclusion that nothing would ever stop these dreadful evils but Universal Total Abstinence from all intoxicating liquors; and thus having come to the belief that it was of no use preaching without setting an example, George Cruikshank in the same year, 1847, became a Total Abstainer.

It is interesting to note that it was not until commissions for book illustration were diminishing that Cruikshank turned to preaching temperance through his drawings and prints, although at first he did not set a good example by his personal habits. However, as

Drawing by George Cruikshank, Greatly Reduced

if suddenly awakening to the realization of the full consequences of drink, he furiously protested against his surroundings and urged his friends to embrace the Temperance Movement. The magnitude of the evil can be seen in the realistic records of Hogarth, Gilray, Rowlandson, and then Cruikshank who, intentionally or unintentionally, married his experiences and talent in *The Bottle,* showing plates of the downfall of a respectable household as a result of over-indulgence. The publication was a tremendous success; over a hundred thousand copies were sold in a few days. The movement so forcibly dramatized through these prints was taken up by the theaters; and the work drew a sonnet from Matthew Arnold, and a congratulatory letter from Dickens, although the novelist could not wholly forgive Cruikshank for devoting so much time to temperance.

Most people are familiar with the Cruikshank prints that were used as illustrations for a long list of books and other publications dating from 1811 to 1877, which include William Home's blasphemous *Libels on the Government, The Classic Novels,* which were published monthly, and *The Pickwick Papers,* the first famous novel illustrated by the artist. However, the novel was preceded by *Life in London, Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorne, Esq., Corinthian Tom, Bob Logic, The Oxonian, Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis,* and other works. Perhaps the most widely known Cruikshank illustrations — twenty-four etchings — were created for Dickens's *Oliver Twist.* Scott's *Waverly Novels,* and W. Harrison Ainsworth's *Rockwood, Jack Sheppard,* and *The Tower of London,* among others, come down in the art of illustration from generation to generation.

However, one rarely has the privilege of seeing Cruikshank's drawings which are first thoughts for the etched illustrations. These sketches, or studies, were not meant for public view, nor were they drawn for a publisher. They reveal the natural talent and creative ability of the artist with an intimacy and spontaneity rarely evidenced in the print. These two drawings for *The Drunkard's Children* are left in their pristine stage; they have undergone no changes, nor have they suffered from the tightening process of over-technical development.

Drawings were not collected to any great extent during the nineteenth century, and it is most unusual that these two masterpieces

should have survived. Collectors thought that drawings had little artistic merit other than as compositional documents, which may explain why the artists themselves were the first to collect drawings. It would seem that Cruikshank himself put little value on them, for he worked on ordinary manila paper which was afterward folded in the middle, and one in particular had been torn. It is only by expert restoration that these unique records can be preserved for posterity.

Here one finds the inspired work of Cruikshank, the creative artist, done under circumstances far removed from those of Cruikshank, the illustrator, unburdened by the limitations of the needle, acid, and copper-plate. These examples of draftsmanship have been favorably compared with the drawings of Ingres in their fastidious line and fine characterization. This is a rare combination which, coupled with profound insight into human nature, brings the misfortune of the period into the open. However, regardless of subject matter, the clarity and exactness of these drawings achieve distinction and hold their place with the masters.

When one takes into consideration that these drawings were inspired by a personal experience, it would seem that Cruikshank's art underwent a renaissance of talent and mind, producing results beyond the usual functions of the pencil and brush. Rarely does one encounter masterpieces of drawing that demonstrate a subject with such a frank definition and with so much purpose. They call for artistic as well as social investigation. One is held by the tragedy, the locale, and the time and intent which remain as a valid criterion of the past. Cruikshank's reputation as a great artist, aside from the literary content, could very well be built upon a few drawings of high achievement such as these records of *The Drunkard's Children.*

Notes on Rare Books

An Italian Romance of Chivalry

A RARE little volume, which once belonged to the famous Heber library, has been added to the Rare Book Department's growing collection of sixteenth-century Italian books. It is an epic in verse of the Charlemagne cycle, *Drusian dal Leone,* printed in Milan by Valerio and Hieronimo da Meda about 1550. The first edition appeared in Venice in 1513, and there were over twenty other editions before 1700. The authorship of the work is unknown. Occupying about two-thirds of the title-page is an excellent woodcut depicting Drusian in coat-of-mail, resting one arm on his shield and holding up with the other a gonfalon, his faithful lion sitting beside him. Scattered through the text are vivid, sharply drawn small cuts, many of them repeated several times. The first represents two mounted knights charging each other with lances; other cuts show a cavalcade, a knight stabbing another with a long lance, a king receiving a deputation, and so on.

The tales of Charlemagne and his paladins took root and flourished in Italy from the latter half of the thirteenth century on in a curious form—in epics written in French by Italians. The traitor was a typical figure of the *chansons de geste,* but, whereas already in France there was a tendency to have all the traitors belong to one clan, in Italy the family in which evil was concentrated received the name of Maganza (for Mainz or Mayence).* This name occurs constantly in *Drusian dal Leone.* Two forces are set over against the hero: the treason of the Maganzas and the ever-present hostility of the Saracens.

The text begins with an invocation, after which the stage is set; following the death of the traitorous Ganno and of Orlando (Roland) of high deeds, the aged Charlemagne remained to govern Christendom. A nephew of Gan, whose name was Galleran of the Maganza, was plotting to avenge his kinsman and make himself king of France. He let the Saracen king Organtino know that if he helped to carry out his (Galleran's) design, he would be crowned with power over half the realm. Galleran besieged Paris, and Organtino advanced westward, pillaging and burning houses on the way.

* An illuminating discussion of this phenomenon is offered by Adolf Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur,* Band I, Berlin 1885, p. 112ff.

On his progress the Saracen king threatens a lofty castle, which belongs to the widow of Oliver, the famous paladin of Charlemagne, who lives there with her daughter Polisena. This is the heroine, whose beauty surpasses not only that of Helena, but of Dido, Isolde, and many other famous ladies. To seek aid from some great lord, Polisena sets out with her retinue, riding on secret paths through forests. She meets Drusian, younger son of King Brazzaleante, and the two instantly fall in love. The host of the inn where they stop turns out to be a tool of Spinabello, one of the hated Maganza; Drusian slays him, and also fells a giant who has seized Polisena. Meeting Spinabello himself, he gives a blow to the traitor which splits his helmet down to the skull.

As an unknown knight, Drusian enters the great tournament at Lyon, and first defeats King Carador, then tilts with his own brothers and even his father. A powerful lady, "the fairy of Organia," receives him in her palace, and offers him her daughter Spinabella as wife. But he remains true to Polisena and requests that Spinabella be given to one of his brothers. The fairy, however, insists on presenting him with other gifts which prove their worth throughout his whole life: an enchanted armor and a powerful steed, Brigliadoro.

It will be noted that the hero was known as "Drusiano dal Leone." It happened that on his return to his kingdom, he came upon a dragon pursuing a lion, and killed the fire-spewing beast. For the rest of his life, the lion became the faithful companion of his master.

Having arrived in his father's realm, Drusian with due celebrations marries Polisena. However, this is only the beginning of a series of new adventures, in different countries. It is impossible to follow them at length here. When a messenger came from Charlemagne saying that "all Christendom is lost," Drusian was ready. With forty thousand knights he rode to Rome, where the Pope made him his gonfalier. Drusian, blowing an elephant horn, challenged Organtino to single combat, and stabbed him to death. From Rome he and his horsemen rode to France, "reconquering the lost lands." He gave a mortal blow to Galleran. All the enemy people fled and Charlemagne, too feeble to ride, came in a fine carriage to honor him.

The Saracens of the Levant tried to avenge the death of Organtino. Drusian, however, contends not only with pagans and traitors, but with a serpent with a woman's head who, after a long fight, turns into a beautiful maiden; with a griffin, who devoured

his beloved lion; and with a three-eyed minotaur, in whose body is the soul of the traitor Ganno.

In the meantime Drusian has been reported dead, and Polisena mourns for him. She is courted by the pagan Rubione, whom she refuses; and when Drusian returns, she faints with joy. But Drusian does not linger. He advances to the Levant, slaying King Polidoro and all others who opposed him.

Such a hero as Drusian could not conceivably be vanquished in battle. It remained for cowardly treason to do its part. At the time of his triumphal return, pardon was generously granted to the clan of Maganza. But among them was one Riccardo, who (like Faust later) made a pact with the devil, pledging his soul in return for help in carrying out his nefarious plan. Accordingly, the devil brought him a noiseless saw with which the traitor secretly cut through the main column of the hall in the imperial palace where Drusian was to hold a great council. Six thousand people were assembled in the council-hall, among them thirty kings. Drusian has barely time to cry out that he has been betrayed and to call for arms when the palace crashes down and he and the whole council are buried in the ruins. Polisena, returning from a hunt, seeing her consort dead, "with sighs and spasm loses her life."

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

Shays's Rebellion and the English Press

WERE British agents behind Shays? From time to time during the troubles of 1786-7 in Massachusetts anti-insurgent writers charged that British money backed the embattled farmers. Although here and there Shaysite spokesmen pointed up the idea that cash was readier under Hutchinson than under Bowdoin and one hostile observer recorded that he had heard George III huzzaed within a few steps of a county courthouse, no evidence has ever been turned up to substantiate the charge of British collusion. Yet it is doubtless true that diehards in England were hopefully interested in the news of turmoil drifting across the ocean.

That some of this interest was reflected in the British press may be seen by a brief survey of a few publications in London, Bristol, and Bath that carried occasional news items, more or less accurate,

reprinted from American newspapers,[1] along with editorial speculations based on wish rather than fact. Thus Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal,* in letters from New York informing of the "general discontent and occasional risings of the people" in New England, reported that "consequences of a more serious kind" were expected, "such as destroying the barriers to the North, and calling in the native Americans, perhaps to the extirpation of all government."[2] As far as is known, Shaysites never contemplated a call for Canadian or Indian help; and it was Henry Knox, Secretary of War of the Confederation, who played with the idea of using the pretext of threatened Indian risings to the west in order to raise an army against the Shaysites. A few months later, the *Bristol Journal,* in "advices received from America," had Shays and ten of his officers in the hands of Lord Dorchester, commander of the British garrison at St. John's.[3]

Tory exultation and the implied hope that the demonstrations in Massachusetts would in some way undo the settlement of the Revolution are evident in a few of the notices. "Such, and so deplorable are the vices and wants of almost all the independent provinces in North America, that the probable expectation from every account is, that the flames of civil war will burst out in various districts," gleefully observed the London *Political Magazine* at the beginning of the rebellion. Nor was the writer averse to offering a bit of self-righteous advice on how to fan the flames:

1. *Bath Chronicle,* March 22, Apr. 12, 1787; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal,* March 17, 24, 1787; *Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military and Literary Journal* (Nov., 1786), 389. The *Political Magazine* also reported a court-stoppage in Maryland similar to the Shays type, in a reprint from the *New York Gazetteer,* under date-line of Baltimore, June 27, 1786: "Charles County Court has lately been compelled to adjourn all civil causes, by a tumultuary assemblage of the people, and it is to be apprehended that other counties are disposed to follow the baneful precedent. No person in Harford County is, by the inhabitants, permitted to bid for property seized upon by execution for debt, and disposed of at public auction. If something is not done to restore our courts to their proper tone and energy (and what that something should be we cannot presume to point out) this whole happy state will be exposed to all the horrors of anarchy and licentiousness.—It indeed requires the united wisdom of the wisest amongst us to devise and carry into execution such measures as may alleviate our embarrassments, and sooth the body of the people." (Aug., 1786, p. 147).

2. Mar. 17, 1787, p. 2.

3. June 16, 1787, p. 2.

> Shocking as the catastrophe of such a war would be, perhaps it may be morally requisite for the purpose of criticising, as it were, the political disorders tainting and distracting that country through all its circulation. In the meanwhile, let timely warning be given again and again to all our Traders not to have any trans-Atlantic dealings, except for ready money.
>
> The resolution of the leading people in the monied market not to discount for those tradesmen so madly rash as to rush into credit with America, has done more than anything else to check the progress of such ruinous ventures.[4]

By the spring of 1787 Shays had been defeated and the *Bath Chronicle,* its hopes dashed, could afford only a disgruntled comment: "America exhibits a curious scene at this time, rebellion growing out of rebellion; particularly in that seedling bed and hot-bed of discontent, sedition, riot, and rebellion, Massachusett's Bay, where rebellion originates, breeds naturally, thrives and grows to maturity in the shortest time possible. There the doctrine of civil liberty, or every man his own governor, has erected its standard, and rides triumphantly over her embattled plains!"[5]

SIDNEY KAPLAN

4. Jan., 1786, pp. 72–73. "The result of all this is [in Massachusetts], not a dollar stirring—every man contracting his affairs and a general stagnation in trade," reported the *Bristol Journal* in a London dispatch. (Mar. 17, 1787, p. 2).

5. Mar. 29, 1787, p. 2.

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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OCTOBER 1956

Early Views of Beacon Hill

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

A PRECIOUS pictorial record of Old Boston is preserved in a series of five original water-color sketches, and as many chromo-lithographs made from them, in the possession of the Boston Public Library. In the present day, when such radical innovations have been made in the sky line and topography of the city, it is not without a wistful pleasure that one looks at these scenes in the process of change nearly a hundred and fifty years ago. They are views of Beacon Hill, with the State House in its pristine form, and the Monument by Bulfinch.

The sketches were made on the spot in 1811 or 1812 by the English artist John Rubens Smith. The copyright for the lithographs is in the name of George G. Smith, dated 1857 and 1858; the publishers were Smith, Knight and Tappan. The Library's portfolio contains an autograph statement by George G. Smith which reads:

> The chromo-lithographs were taken from original sketches made by Mr. John Rubens Smith, a son of Mr. Wm Smith, the well known mezzotint engraver of London, and celebrated for his numerous and excellent heads of public personages during the last century.
>
> Mr. John R. Smith came to this country I think about 1808 or 9; he was a thoroughly educated artist, so far as I know decidedly the most able drawing master we ever had, and overflowing with talent in every way except in the faculty of getting money: there he shewed the usual artistic deficiency.

The sketches from which these pictures were taken were executed on the spot sometime in the year 1811 or 12 and were purchased by me of his son, about the year 1830.

They are now in my possession, and are I think among the earliest specimens of chromo-lithography executed in Boston. The colours are somewhat heightened from those of the original sketches.

The statement is on a letter-paper of the Library, and appended to it is a note by Justin Winsor, Superintendent: "This was written by Mr. Smith at the age of nearly 80, in my office, and at my request." The note, dated August 13, 1875, is signed by Winsor. On the next leaf of the paper is another entry: "The original sketches referred to on the preceding page were purchased by the Public Library 13 Feb. 1879 of A. Williams & Co. Boston & added to this volume," signed by Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian.

At least two reference works on American engravers have George Girdler Smith gone to his reward about 1858 (the last date on the Library's lithographs),[1] whereas he was still cheerfully visiting the Library seventeen years later. The Boston directory for 1865 lists him, "engraver & plate printer," as located at 89 Washington Street, with the information that he "boards at 20 Upton." He must have liked his boarding place, for he was still living there in 1877, according to the directory for that year, which describes him by the perennial name of "artist." He died December 18, 1878.[2]

John Rubens Smith, the painter of the original sketches, was born in 1775, the son of John Raphael Smith, one of the most distinguished mezzotint engravers of England. He received instruction in stippling and engraving from his father, and also studied painting at the Royal Academy. In 1802 he paid a temporary visit to the United States. The publisher's belief that he settled in this country about 1808 finds support in the Boston directory, which lists him as "drawing master" located at School Street in 1809, and at Water Street in 1810.[3] Presumably he had a school for drawing and, to judge by the little book *The Juvenile Drawing-Book; being the Rudiments of the Art in a series of Progressive Lessons* designed by John Reubens [*sic*] Smith, Philadelphia, 1847, he must have been an excellent teacher. He married one of his pupils, Elizabeth Peperell, in 1809. Later he taught and worked as

an art critic in New York. After another stay in Boston, he returned to Philadelphia, where he was active teaching and writing. During this period he engraved the portrait of Daniel O'Connell, after a painting by Joseph Haverty. He died in 1849. An obituary described him as "short in figure, with a large head, peculiar one-sided gait and an indescribable expression of countenance."

Besides the sketches and lithographs of Beacon Hill, the Library owns a charming water-color copy of a painting by John Rubens Smith, showing "Beacon Hill from the Common" about 1809. It was found in a curiosity shop in Paris about 1840 by Andrew Ritchie, the son-in-law of Harrison Gray Otis. Ritchie's son, Colonel Harrison Ritchie, presented it to the Library in 1880. The painting has been reproduced in Annie Haven Thwing's *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston* (Boston, 1920), in Allen Chamberlain's *Beacon Hill* (Boston, 1925), and in Volume IV of Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston.* No monochrome reproduction, however, can transmit the charm of the water-color, the freshness of the grass on the Common, the placidity of the cows grazing there, and the sprightliness of the three ladies promenading across the pasture. Among the houses shown on Beacon Street is the handsome residence of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston, and the birthplace of Wendell Phillips. Next to it are the imposing mansion of Thomas Perkins; the house of John Joy on the corner of Joy and Beacon Streets; the house and stables of John Hancock; and at the summit the State House. Also visible is the Amory, later Ticknor, house on the corner of Park and Beacon streets.

The engraver George G. Smith was born at Danvers — presumably in 1795 or 1796, if he was nearly eighty at the time of his visit to the Library. In 1823 he became associated with William A. Annin, with whom later he formed the Annin & Smith-Sennefelder Lithographic Co. At some time, he engaged in bank-note engraving, with the Bank Note Company of Boston. Just what active part George G. Smith had in the transfer of the Beacon Hill sketches to the stone cannot be traced by any record, except for an editorial note by Winsor in the *Memorial History of Boston.* The lithography was done by John H. Bufford, the founder of Bufford & Co. in Boston. Many artists worked for the firm; no less a person than Winslow Homer began his career as an apprentice in the studio.

WHEN George G. Smith wrote that the colors of the lithographs are "somewhat heightened" from those of the sketches, he was making an understatement. The colors of the sketches are exceedingly delicate — pale blue, rose, green, and gray; those of the lithographs are bright and strong. The figures in the sketches are either drawn in outline or shaded with a gray wash; in the lithographs they are in color and plastically shaded. The lithographs appear in the following sequence:

1. "Beacon Hill from Mt. Vernon Street." The stately red mansion with portico and high stone wall in the foreground to the left is the State House at its eastern end. In the background is the green hill, partly dug away, with the monument at the summit and poplar trees at the base. Elegant gentlemen, with top-hats and canes, are seen walking, as well as a more rustic couple and a dog. A two-wheeled buggy stands at the end of the road.

2. "Beacon Hill from Derne Street." This shows a steep stairway more than half way up the hill, continued by a path through the grass leading to the monument. Behind the hill at the right, as if sinking from view, is the top of the State House dome with the cupola. At the left is the red house with green shutters of William Thurston, situated near the excavation on the hill. In the foreground is a light green wooden house in front of which stand two gentlemen in animated conversation.

3. "Beacon Hill with Mr. Thurston's House from Bowdoin Street." The rose-colored Thurston house — green shutters, and green vine over the door — stands in all its dignity on the hill, perilously close to the cavity. The pale cupola of the State House dome peers over a fence close by a corner of the house. The monument on the hill looms at the right, where, in the foreground, is a portion of a bright old brick house wall. Figures enliven the scene.

4. "Beacon Hill from Mt. Vernon Street, near the head of Hancock Street." The excavation is going on. The gash in the hillside confronts the spectator. Two-wheeled carts, each drawn by three horses, are in the valley, ready to cart away the soil, while men are plying pick-axes. The monument still stands secure on the summit of the hill, and farther back, to the right, the back of the Thurston house.

The Cutting Down of Beacon Hill, A Lithograph Made from Drawing by J. R. Smith

5. "Beacon Hill from the present Site of the Reservoir, between Hancock and Temple Streets." The State House is in full front view to the right, to the left the excavated hill — the monument still standing. Carts, horses, men with shovels and raised pick-axes are below. In the background is a pale-grey view of roof-tops and the slender spire of Park Street Church.

These records, in design and execution, are true works of art.

IN the *Columbia Centinel,* Boston's leading newspaper, for June 12, 1811, appeared a notice: "Public Sale of Land. Belonging to, and by order of the Town of Boston. On Thursday the 20th inst . . . one other Lot of Land on Beacon-Hill, upon which the Monument now stands, containing ten thousand square feet, together with all the right, title, and interest of the town in and to the street leading to the same. The sale of this Lot will take place upon the premises immediately after the sale of the above described Lots on Common-street." The lot was sold for $9,300 to Samuel Spear and John Hancock — and the transaction marked the beginning of the end of Boston's old look.

Boston was a town of three hills. There were in the north, Copp's Hill (previously known as Windmill and Snow Hill), named supposedly after a settler there, a cobbler William Copp; in the east, Fort Hill (previously called Corn Hill); and in the west, Tramount, Treamount, or Trimountain, which later came to be known as Beacon Hill. Many people believed that the three hills gave rise to the word "Tremont." However, the word was derived from the three small elevations on Tramountain. To be sure, looking up toward the State House, one no longer sees three elevations, but only one, and that considerably lower than it was at the time when John Rubens Smith made his sketches.

The three eminences of Tramountain were Cotton Hill, later called Pemberton; Copley's Hill, which came to be known as Mount Vernon; and the central and highest one, Sentry or Beacon Hill. Cotton Hill was named after the Reverend John Cotton, who lived there in a house given him by Sir Harry Vane. Copley Hill was so called because the painter John Singleton Copley (now memorialized in the name of Copley Square) owned an estate on it, which

his son Lord Lyndhurst in 1796 deeded to Harrison Gray Otis and Jonathan Mason. Sentry or Beacon Hill was so named because of the beacon set on it in 1635 by order of the General Court "to give notice to the country of any danger." A ward was to be stationed there from the first of April to the last of September; and when any peril was discovered in a town, the beacon was fired, an alarm given, and messengers sent from the endangered place to "all other towns." The beacon was a tall pole placed on cross timbers with a stone foundation. Cross sticks served as a ladder to the top of the pole where an iron crane projected from one side. The crane supported an iron pot.[4] The original beacon fell and was rebuilt in 1768. In the Revolutionary War the British removed the beacon and built on its site a small square fort; but when they had withdrawn in 1776, the beacon was once more set up. In 1789 it was blown over by a gale.

In every one of the Smith lithographs, the slender shaft of the monument that stood in the place of the old beacon on the summit of Beacon Hill rises commandingly into the sky. In plate no. 2 the eye follows the steep stairs and the still steeper path beyond them, up to the culminating monument with its eagle crest. In plates 4 and 5 the monument towers over the gash in the hill. It was designed by the young Charles Bulfinch, a graduate from Harvard in 1781 who, in the year when the beacon was blown down, had returned from study in Europe, and was chosen a selectman of Boston. Built, probably under Bulfinch's supervision, of brickwork with stucco, a Roman Doric column, mounted on a pedestal and crowned by a gilt eagle, the whole was 57 or 60 feet high.[5] Four tablets were affixed to the base of the monument. The one on the south side stated that the column was erected "to commemorate that train of events which led to the American Revolution and finally secured liberty and independence to the United States," and that it was erected by the voluntary contributions of the citizens of Boston. The tablet on the north side listed the important events, beginning with the Stamp Act and ending with "Hancock President." The list was continued on the west side to 1790. The tablet on the east side read: "Americans, while from this eminence scenes of luxuriant fertility of flourishing commerce & the abodes of social happiness meet your view forget not those who by their exertions have secured to you these blessings."

The cutting down of the hill in 1811, shown so graphically on the sketches and lithographs, was bound to be fatal to the Beacon Hill Monument, which disappeared from the top forever. The slate tablets, however, were preserved and in time placed in the Doric Hall of the new State House — but not permanently. On June 17, 1899, the Bunker Hill Association gave the Commonwealth a stone replica of the Beacon Hill Monument, and the tablets were placed on the sides of the pedestal. This replica of Bulfinch's column, surmounted by the eagle, now stands in an open space between Bowdoin Street and the east side of the State House extension.

Bulfinch left a more lasting mark on Beacon Hill. In 1795 the town purchased land from the heirs of Governor Hancock for the erection of a new State House. Already in November 1787 Bulfinch had submitted a design for the new building, but now the General Court resolved to adopt his plan and also made him one of a committee of three to effect the construction. On the fourth of July, 1795, the cornerstone was laid with impressive ceremony. It was carried on a decorated truck, drawn by fifteen "milk white" horses, symbolizing the fifteen states which then made the Union. The stone was laid by Governor Samuel Adams and Paul Revere as Grand Master of the Lodge of Masons. On January 11, 1798, the members of the General Court walked in procession from the Old State House on State Street to the new Capitol.

Lithograph no. 5 shows the State House with its red brick front, facing the eminence of the hill, still higher than its roof, and the monument towering higher even than the dome. The changes that were subsequently made on and in the building have not essentially altered its aspect. Ellen Susan Bulfinch, a granddaughter of the architect, wrote in her memoir: "Economy had forbidden the use of the costliest materials. The gilded dome that now meets our eyes on the horizon . . . was then merely painted yellow. The columns in the Doric Hall, and those forming the colonnade in front were trees growing near a lake in Maine, in Township No. 5, now Calais, on land owned by Lieutenant-Governor Robbins, then Speaker of the House and a member of the commission."[6] However, Paul Revere and his son covered the dome with copper in 1802 — that is, about ten years before John Rubens Smith made his sketches. It was not gilded until 1861 and covered with gold leaf thirteen years later. The cupola surmounting the dome is a reproduction of Bulfinch's original "lanthorn."

For an enthusiastic description of the view from the dome it may not be amiss to quote Abel Bowen in his *Picture of Boston,* 1838, for he was himself an engraver, and at one time the employer of George G. Smith:

The view from this dome, which is 230 feet above the level of the sea, affords one of the most interesting and beautiful spectacles. The eye embraces at once every avenue and every public building in the city, and overlooks the towns adjacent, all speckled with white houses and country seats, amidst groves and luxuriant fields. At our feet, on the right, we see the mansion house of Hancock (a venerable stone building of over ninety years standing) and in front is spread the Common, like a splendid carpet of green, bounded on all sides by the Malls, closely shaded by trees of various growth, over which the great elm in the middle of the common . . . seems to command the whole, with the majestic waving of his huge branches, the growth of more than a century . . .

This lithograph, with the State House and the ruined hillside facing each other, has something frightening, as the real scene must have seemed to the citizens of 1811, who saw one of the "everlasting hills" give way slowly but surely before the ant-like swarm of laborers hacking away with pick-axes. But the soil and gravel cut down was not wasted; it helped to make the Boston we know now. When one walks from Haymarket Square to the North Station, one treads on the transplanted elevation of Beacon Hill. In this region was the Mill Pond, and in May 1804 the owners of the mill, the Boston Mill Corporation, received permission from the town to fill up the pond with substance from Beacon Hill. In 1807 they made an agreement with the town that "it waive and release the conditions and obligations annexed to the said original grant, for a just and valuable consideration, and that the premises should be filled up and made fit for building by excluding the water; and the said Proprietors are content in exchange for such release to fill up and convert the premises into solid land, and to grant and confirm to the town of Boston forever an estate in fee simple, in and to one eighth lot so filled up, of every tract or portion of the premises, which shall within twenty years from this date, be filled up and converted into solid land . . ."[7]

THE "great digging" of 1811 was not the first. Already in 1764 a certain Thomas Hodson, owner of a small tract of land on

Beacon Hill from Derne Street
A Drawing by J. R. Smith

the north side, persisted, against the protests of the selectmen, in extracting gravel from his ground. Alarmed about danger to the hill, the town appointed a committee, which included Thomas Hancock and James Otis, to handle the situation; but, since they could not dissuade Hodson from his purpose, there seemed no recourse left but legislation by the General Court which, however, passed no law against the digging.

Between 1804 and 1805 the westerly eminence of Trimountain (or what came to be called Beacon Hill after its highest peak) had already been leveled for building purposes; this was Copley Hill or Mt. Vernon, of which the removed ground filled up the Charles River in the creation of Charles Street, that bright artery girding the base of the Hill of today. In 1835 Cotton or Pemberton Hill was also lowered to form Pemberton Square. Wheildon even believed that "the northerly spurs of Beacon Hill" had probably furnished gravel filling for the Great Cove which "extended from the present Lewis's wharf to Rowe's wharf"; and that, if his conclusions were right, "State street, Water street, Congress street, Liberty square, Broad street and part of Federal street are composed of material from Beacon Hill."[8]

When the "six rod square" owned by the town had been sold in 1811, the purchasers could think of no better use for them than to have them dug away and sold as filling for the Mill Pond. But every great change, even if it ultimately benefits the people, is accompanied by some heartache. Consider the Thurston house as it appears in the lithographs, especially in plate 3! Notice its lofty site on the hill, its stately proportions, and the double swells characteristic of the Bulfinch period, though Bulfinch is not known to have designed the house. William Thurston, born in 1772, was a graduate of Dartmouth College, read law with John Lowell, and practised in Boston till his health failed. He then went to Italy, and died in Naples in August 1822. It was in 1802 that he acquired the northerly part of the extensive estate owned by Daniel Dennison Rogers, and two years later he built the beautiful mansion. The sad situation gave rise to a famous lawsuit "Thurston vs. Hancock et al." "The defendants in 1811 dug down their land on the west, 60 feet below the original level, and the earth fell in, leaving bare plaintiff's cellar wall, and rendering his house unsafe, so that it had to be taken down. His damages were laid at twenty thousand dollars. The decision was that no action lay for the owner of the house for dam-

ages done to the house; but that he was entitled to an action for damages arising from the falling of his natural soil into the pit so dug."[9] In any case the house had to go. It was, however, rebuilt at no. 1 Beacon Hill Place, which was off of Bowdoin Street to the west and so not far from its original proud site.

Even apart from the two plates showing the excavation in process, the pictures are animated by figures. Promenaders are enjoying the view from the Hill. A fashionable couple — the lady in the bell-shaped skirt of the time — are looking down from the steep stairs that ascend from Derne Street, others are standing on the summit by the monument, disregarding the wound on the face of the Hill. What topic of conversation can be engrossing the two top-hatted gentlemen? One of them seems to be pointing in the direction of the excavated part and the Thurston house. "O tempora, o mores!" No doubt, the good old times were passing.

Notes

1. Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (New York, 1931), and David McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907).

2. Boston Directory for 1879.

3. Thieme-Becker, who give a comparatively full account of J. R. Smith's movements, state that he came to Boston in 1806 and opened a drawing-school here in 1807. This would be possible, even though he does not appear in the Boston Directory of June 1807. No directory was published for 1808.

4. *The Massachusetts State House,* compiled by the State Library, Boston, 1953. The writer is indebted to Miss Marion Drake, Department of Public Health, State House, Boston, for extracts drawn by her from this useful compilation.

5. William W. Wheildon, *Sentry or Beacon Hill* (Concord, Mass., 1877), p. 71, quotes detailed dimensions copied from a manuscript found among the papers of Governor Bowdoin, which gives the total length as 57 feet.

6. Ellen Susan Bulfinch, *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch* (Boston, 1896), p. 111.

7. Caleb H. Snow, *A History of Boston* (Boston, 1828), p. 326.

8. William W. Wheildon, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

9. Quoted in Wheildon, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

Mrs. Browning's Poems of 1850

By GARDNER B. TAPLIN

ROBERT BROWNING and his wife were busy with their poetry in the winter of 1849-50. Robert was writing his *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day,* and Elizabeth was revising her volumes of 1838 and 1844 in preparation for a new edition. Elizabeth thought that Browning's poem, brought out by Chapman and Hall, was "full of power," but the work received few acceptable reviews and the sales were poor.

Indeed, during Elizabeth's lifetime all of Browning's poetry failed to win general recognition, and his reputation was very much overshadowed by that of his wife. For example, when the post of poet laureate became vacant after Wordsworth's death in April, 1850, it was Elizabeth, not Robert, whom the *Athenaeum* recommended to the position. The first paragraph of a column, probably written by H. F. Chorley, entitled "Our Weekly Gossip" in the *Athenaeum,* June 1, said that to grant the laureateship "to a female would be at once an honourable testimonial to the individual, a fitting recognition of the remarkable place which the women of England have taken in the literature of the day, and a graceful compliment to the Sovereign herself."[1] The writer added that, "There is no living poet of either sex who can prefer a higher claim than Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning." Three weeks later the *Athenaeum* reported that Leigh Hunt was being considered for the post. Although the author of the article believed that Hunt had a claim, he thought that is was "not of the kind which can be properly recognized by the laureateship,"[2] and again suggested Elizabeth's name. After the position was granted to Tennyson, Chorley regretted the decision because the award had not gone to a woman and because Tennyson already had a pension.[3] Elizabeth had at first favored Leigh Hunt, who was "a great man and a good man in spite of all," but she later said that Tennyson was "in a sense" worthier of the laureateship than Hunt; "only Tennyson can wait, that is the single difference."

Although Elizabeth had not published much poetry since her volume of 1844, she had not been altogether forgotten either in America or England before the discussion about the laureateship. An American critic and traveler, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, who had been for a while editor of the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion,* in which Elizabeth had published in 1842, wrote an appreciative review of her work in his *Thoughts on the Poets,* which appeared in New York in 1846. He emphasized her classical scholarship and declared that her poems were "imbued with the spirit of antique models."[4] An American clergyman, musician, and minor poet, George W. Bethune, wrote in 1848 in his volume *The British Female Poets* of Elizabeth's "high religious faith, her love of children, her delight in the graceful and beautiful, her revelations of feminine feeling, her sorrow over the suffering, and her indignation against the oppressor."[5] In 1849 an English editor and author, Frederick Rowton, paid tribute to her genius in his *Female Poets of Great Britain.*[6] He found in her precisely the qualities she lacked: "She is chief amongst the learned poetesses of our land: at least, I know of no British female writer who exhibits so intimate an acquaintance with the *spirit* of both antique and modern philosophy, or so refined a perception of intellectual purity and beauty. Her poetry is the poetry of pure reason."

Elizabeth probably did not know of all these flattering articles, but she was much pleased to have been suggested for the laureateship. While she was awaiting the critical reception of her new volumes, she suffered in the summer of 1850 from her fourth and last miscarriage, her most serious setback since she had left England. For six weeks afterwards she was gravely ill. Her physician, Dr. Harding, realized that she would have to move to the country as soon as she was well enough to travel.

In the morning of August 31, the Brownings left Florence by railroad for Siena. They spent September in a small villa, which cost only eleven shillings a week, about two miles from the city. It was in the midst of a vineyard, olive orchard, and flower garden, and was on a hill called *poggio dei venti.* The villa was cool and had splendid views in all directions. Elizabeth

wrote that, "From one window you have a view of Siena, with its Duomo and its campanile, and its Italian colouring over all! . . . From another, the whole country leaps under the sun, alive with verdure and vineyards." Her health soon improved, so that during the first week of October, which they spent in Siena, she was able to walk through the cathedral and through the Academy, where she admired "the divine Eve of Sodoma." Although she was to live in Siena parts of the summers of 1859 and 1860 and to pass through the city many times on her journeys between Florence and Rome, she was never again strong enough to climb the steps into the cathedral.

ABOUT the first of November[7] Elizabeth's "new edition" was brought out by Chapman and Hall, who had published Browning's *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day.* The *Poems* were issued in two octavo volumes bound in dark gray-blue cloth boards. Elizabeth included all of the poems in the volume of 1844, and all but nine of the poems in the volume of *The Seraphim* (omitting the weakest, such as "The Little Friend," "Victoria's Tears," and "The Weeping Saviour") — and all the verses which had appeared in periodicals since 1844, most of them in *Blackwood's,* two in the *Christian Mother's Magazine,* and one each in the *Liberty Bell* of Boston and the *Athenaeum*; also "A Sabbath Morning at Sea" from an annual in 1839 and "The Claim," which had been published in the *Athenaeum* in 1842. She had not been writing so frequently for magazines as before her marriage. Browning strongly disapproved of the publication of poetry in a periodical before it should appear in a book, because he felt the practice was a deception to the public. The most important of her works being published for the first time were the new translation of the *Prometheus Bound,* a translation of Bion's *Lament for Adonis,* and the "Sonnets from the Portuguese,"[8] as well as three short poems which also were inspired by her love for Browning: "Life and Love," "Inclusions," and "Insufficiency."

In the preparation of her new edition she made many revisions among the poems of 1844 and had to rewrite many pages

of the volume of 1838.[9] "Oh, such feeble rhymes, and turns of thought — such a dingy mistiness!" she wrote of *The Seraphim, and Other Poems.* "Even Robert couldn't say a word for much of it. I took great pains with the whole, and made considerable portions new." First of all, she improved many of the rhymes: "shaped" — "heaped" became "deep" — "heap"; "spade" — "led" was changed to "spade" — "laid." Obsolete words such as "een," "eyne," "pleasaunce," "eke," "aye," "erst," "anear," "enow" were eliminated. Dyssyllabic past participles like "kneeled," "laughed," "looked" were revised to "knelt," "her laugh," "did look," and outmoded words such as "waxed" and "tranced" were removed. She took out adverbs which had been overused and were sometimes meaningless; for instance, "striking on thy ringlets sheenly." Many adjectives were placed in their normal position: "water colourless" became "the gray water" and "her small feet bare" was changed to "her small bare feet." The indicative form of the verb was substituted for the old-fashioned subjunctive: "There be (later "are") none of England's daughters." Several of her emendations were of words which had done violence to parts of speech; for example, "verduring the hills" became "to beautify thy hills. Occasionally when a passage was filled with archaic diction, she entirely rewrote the lines. To illustrate, the following verses seemed so unpromising that she eliminated them altogether from the revised version of the "Stanzas to Bettine":

> I ween, thy smile is graver —
> Paler thy cheek, I ween:
> For thou the mystic sight hast seen,
> Which maketh quail the braver —

She also removed many of the mottoes for individual poems: verses by Beaumont and Fletcher, Burton, Spenser, Habington, Hawes, Gascoigne, Wither, and others; also Latin verses by Milton and passages in Greek by Plato, St. Chrysostom, and Orpheus; and she discarded a long footnote on the derivation of the name of Homer and two shorter footnotes referring to Biblical passages. Her reason for the deletions may have been that she was weary of her reputation as an uncomfortably learned poet.

Since her marriage she had no longer been reading Hebrew, Greek, Latin, nor English literature of earlier periods. The only long poem she had written was the first part of *Casa Guidi Windows,* which was still in manuscript, on current affairs in Italy. After the bleak years at Wimpole Street she had achieved fulfillment as a wife and mother. It may have been therefore that she wished to come before the public in 1850 as a writer who had moved away from the world of books toward "life."

Prometheus Bound had been finished in 1845 and was later sent to William Blackwood in Edinburgh. In 1848 he also had the manuscript of "A Meditation in Tuscany" but returned both works because of their unsuitability for publication in his magazine; and so Elizabeth included them in the *Poems* of 1850. Her translation of the *Prometheus Bound,* which received Browning's careful attention, is a great improvement upon her earlier attempt. It is a spirited and readable, rather than a pedantically literal version; and, although in many passages she does not pretend to convey every idiosyncrasy of the Greek, she nowhere misleads the reader. She did not make the mistake that Browning made years later in his translation of the *Agamemnon,* which remained so close to the original that it was generally considered incomprehensible. Indeed throughout her version she happily reproduces many of the original figures of speech.

Among the poems with personal associations are three sonnets to H. S. Boyd: "His Blindness," "His Death," and "Legacies," the last filled with lachrymose recollections. The copies of Aeschylus and of Gregory Nazianzen which came to her after his death were

> those I used to read, thus
> Assisting my dear teacher's soul to unlock
> The darkness of his eyes: now, mine they mock,
> Blinded in turn, by tears: now, murmurous
> Sad echoes of my young voice, years agone,
> Entoning, from these leaves, the Graecian phrase,
> Return and choke my utterance.

Another poem with the background of Herefordshire was "Hector in the Garden," which had been written before she left Italy and published in *Blackwood's* in October, 1846. Eliza-

beth recalls the pleasure she experienced at the age of nine from tending in the Hope End garden a "huge giant" of many different kinds of flowers — daffodils, violets, lilies, daisies, and others. In spite of its descriptive charm, the poem is spoiled by the "moral" of the concluding stanzas. The poet will not allow herself "this dreaming" about the past, but she thirsts for action, "Life's heroic ends pursuing."

IT was in the new edition of her *Poems* that Elizabeth first published the sonnet sequence she had composed before her marriage. On July 22 of her last summer in London she had said to Browning, "You shall see some day at Pisa what I will not show you now. Does not Solomon say that 'there is a time to read what is written.'" Except for that cryptic remark she told him nothing of the sonnets she had been writing on the miracle of her life: her former isolation, ill-health, and sense of deep grief followed by the triumph of love over doubts and fears. Just below the last, the forty-fourth of the sonnets which Elizabeth copied into her small white notebook, she wrote, "50 Wimpole Street 1846, Sept."[10] In this poem she spoke of the many flowers Browning had brought her from his garden, and in return she presented him with her sheaf of sonnets:

> So, in the like name of that love of ours,
> Take back these thoughts, which here unfolded too,
> And which on warm and cold days I withdrew
> From my heart's ground.

But neither at Pisa nor for the next two years at Florence did she show her husband these sonnets. It was not until they were at Bagni di Lucca in the summer of 1849[11] that Elizabeth first placed "that wreath of Sonnets" on Robert "one morning unawares, three years after it had been twined."[12] Her reluctance to let him see them all this time may have been due to her shyness or to a chance remark Browning had once made "against putting one's loves into verse." At Lucca he had suddenly spoken "something else on the other side," and the following morning Elizabeth "said hesitatingly 'Do you know I

once wrote some poems about you?' — and then — 'There they are, if you care to see them,' — and there was the little Book" — the same one which Browning had beside him when he later wrote these words to Julia Wedgwood three years after Elizabeth's death. When Robert saw the manuscript, he was "much touched and pleased" and thought so highly of the poetry that he "could not consent," Elizabeth wrote Arabel,[13] "that they should be lost" to her volumes.

Browning and she decided "to slip them in under some sort of veil" and chose the title "Sonnets from the Portuguese," which might seem to mean *"from the Portuguese language,"* but which really referred to "Catarina to Camoëns," the poem immediately preceding the "Sonnets." Browning had read this poem before he made Elizabeth's acquaintance, and it "had affected him to tears . . . again and again." Ever since then he had "in a loving fancy" associated her with the Portuguese Catarina. According to legend, she was the girl with whom the Portuguese poet Camoëns fell in love, and she is supposed to have died during his absence abroad and to have left him "the ribband from her hair,"[14] as Browning said. And so Elizabeth and Robert gave the "Sonnets" their ambiguous name and allowed the public, "who are very little versed in Portuguese literature," as Elizabeth wrote, to interpret the title as they pleased.

Forty-three of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" came at the end of the second volume of the new edition. "Future and Past," which was the last poem of the first volume, later became the forty-second of the sonnet sequence in the fourth edition of 1856. Elizabeth did not place the sonnet with the others in 1850 because of its association with "Past and Future" published in the *Poems* of 1844, and she thus hoped to preserve the anonymity of the new sequence. In the earliest of the three manuscripts of the "Sonnets" which had been preserved,[15] she gave titles to eight of the poems: "Death and Love" (I), "Love's Obstacles" (II), "Love's New Creation" (VII), "Love's Expression" (XIII), "Love's Causes" (XIV), "Love's Repetitions" (XXI), "Love's Refuge" (XXII), and "Love's Sacrifice" (XXIII). But she wisely decided that forty-three titles all somewhat similar to one another would have a monotonous

effect and crossed out the eight she had tentatively chosen so that in the published form the individual poems were designated only by Roman numerals. Elizabeth took more pains in the composition of the "Sonnets" than in any of her former poems. For once the expression was concise and coherent, the rhymes almost all conventional, the imagery in better taste, the syntax clear, and the diction simple and unaffected.

A study of the significant revisions of one of the sonnets will illustrate the great care with which she wrote and later emended them. The "Sonnets" may be seen in five different stages of development: the manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the George Murray Smith Memorial Manuscript in the British Museum,[16] the new edition of the Poems,[17] the third edition of 1853 (in which she made only three or four slight revisions of the "Sonnets"), and the fourth edition of the *Poems* in 1856. The earliest manuscript reading of "Sonnet XVI," for example, is as follows:

1 And yet because thou art above me so,
2 Because thou art more strong, and like a king,
3 Thou canst prevail against my fears and fling
4 Thy purple round me till my heart shall grow
5 Too close against thy heart to henceforth know
6 Its separate trembling pulse. Oh, conquering
7 May prove as noble and complete a thing
8 In lifting upward as in beating low!
9 And as a soldier, struck down by a sword,
10 Cries "Here my strife ends", and sinks dead to earth, —
11 Even so, beloved, I, at last, record . . .
12 "My doubt ends here —" If *thou* invite me forth,
13 I rise above abasement at the word! —
14 Make thy love larger to enlarge my worth.

The words "art above me" were given a stronger meaning with "overcomest." "Strong" in line 2 was changed to "princely" and later to "noble." The awkward and needless splitting of the infinitive in line 5 was corrected so that the phrase became "henceforth to know." Since the movement of the first four words in line 6 was hindered by the excessive number of *s* and *t* sounds, she eliminated the expression and substituted "How it shook when alone." The word "noble" had been used in the

revision of line 2 and was therefore removed from line 7 in favor of "lordly." In line 8 "beating" was replaced by the more vivid "crushing." In the change of the next two lines, the figure became much happier: the wounded soldier raised by his gallant enemy is compared to the poet herself, whose hesitations were conquered by a generous lover.

9 And as a vanquished soldier yields his sword
10 To one who lifts him from the bloody earth, —

The first four words of line 12 became in 1850 the more emphatic sentence, "Here ends my doubt!" and in 1856 the meaning was enlarged by the change: "Here ends my strife."

Yet despite Elizabeth's conscientious craftsmanship the freshness of the "Sonnets" has faded, and they no longer evoke the eager response of earlier generations. With all their singing angels, floods of tears, chrisms, lutes, and golden thrones, they are in the idiom of the period, but no poems were ever called into being by a love more true and sincere.

SHE received fewer reviews of her new edition than she had in either 1838 or in 1844. The *Poems* of 1850 were almost unnoticed in the United States, because no separate American edition was issued. A Boston publisher had agreed to reprint her two volumes and to pay for the rights, but he was anticipated by C. S. Francis of New York, who pirated the two volumes of her *Poems* without the alterations or new material. "I don't know when I have been so provoked," Elizabeth wrote to Arabel[18] of the failure of the Boston publisher to honor his agreement because the volumes had already appeared in New York. "So I lose everything — both money and reputation." A brief, perfunctory notice of one paragraph in the *Christian Examiner* of Boston referred to Elizabeth's "possession of the richest poetical gifts,"[19] and an equally short paragraph in *Harper's Magazine* spoke of her "peculiar boldness, originality, and beauty" and said that the new edition would be "thankfully accepted by the wide circle which has learned to venerate Mrs. Browning's genius."[20]

In England the most favorable review was in the *Athenaeum*[21] and was probably written by Elizabeth's friend H. F. Chorley. He quoted from many of her best-known poems, such as "The Cry of the Children" and "Catarina to Camoëns" and concluded with the handsome praise "Mrs. Browning is probably, of her sex, the first imaginative writer England has produced in any age: — she is, beyond comparison, the first poetess of her own." *The Electric Review,*[22] which was also extravagant in its commendation of the *Poems,* spoke of her "splendid poetry," her "profound thought," and her "pervading spirit so pure and so womanly." The writer thought that the romantic ballad "Bertha in the Lane" was "unrivalled in its pathetic beauty" and that the carelessly written "Lady Geraldine's Courtship" was "one of the most charming and finely-elaborated poems in the language" and had an effect which was "indescribably beautiful." No other woman writer, in the reviewer's opinion, had such a combination of "solemn purpose with large intellect and the same intensity of imagination."

However, the *Guardian,* the *Examiner, Fraser's Magazine,* and the *English Review* were more temperate in their praise and believed that even her most recent poetry had the same faults of style mentioned in the reviews of earlier volumes: diffuseness, obscure and affected diction, ungrammatical syntax, inappropriate and absurd images, confusion of the parts of speech, slovenly versification, and incorrect rhymes.[23] Each of the four reviews, however, found something to commend. The *Guardian,* for example, said that "in melody of verse, in tenderness, in true pathos, in abundant language, command of rhyme, and affluence of imagery, she is quite in the first ranks of living writers." The *English Review* asserted that Elizabeth took "high rank among the bards of England" and that there was perhaps none who surpassed her "in her especial beauties — in the combination of romantic wildness with deep, true tenderness and most singular power." Yet, unlike many critics at that time, the reviewer considered Browning a greater poet than his wife: "Upon the whole, we think Browning's the higher and the master spirit; hers the more tender, and the more musical also." A remark in the *Examiner* on "Lady Geraldine's Court-

ship" and "The Romaunt of the Page" was expressed with the characteristic glibness of reviewers: that both poems "show how delicate, pure, and intense a spirit of womanly love is connected with this masculine and far-reaching intellect."

On the whole the reviews had curiously little to say about either the new translation of the *Prometheus Bound* or the "Sonnets from the Portuguese." It is doubtful whether the writer of the notice in the *English Review* understood Elizabeth's responsibility as a translator, for he wrote of her *Prometheus Bound* that the hero's "complaints are rather too rhetorically rendered, without sufficient dramatic earnestness." The *Eclectic Review* called her version of the drama "a noble achievement" and one of the many evidences of the poet's "solid classical scholarship." None of the reviews made a close examination of the *Prometheus Bound* by comparing it with the original, nor did any of them appear to know that the new translation was her second of the same drama.

The reviews were equally imperceptive in their comments on the "Sonnets from the Portuguese." They mostly ignored these new poems, and the two or three which mentioned them failed to grasp their significance. The writer in *Frazer's Magazine* did not understand that the sonnets were a revelation of the poet's own love, but he suggested that they were more than translations: "From the Portuguese they may be: but their life and earnestness must prove Mrs. Browning either to be the most perfect of all known translators, or to have quickened with her own spirit the framework of another's thoughts, and then modestly declined the honour which was really her own." The *Examiner* described the themes of the "Sonnets," which it thought a "remarkable series," but it gave no hint that they might have been based upon Elizabeth's personal experiences.

The *Spectator*[24] was the only important journal which found almost nothing of merit in the new edition. The reviewer believed that, although Elizabeth had shown great promise in her earlier volumes, she had made almost no progress in her art: "Mrs. Browning has given no single instance of her ability to compose finished works. Diffuseness, obscurity, and exaggera-

tion, mar even the happiest efforts of her genius." It seemed to the writer that most of her poems were only "rough sketches, thrown off, it is to be supposed, in one or two sittings."

Elizabeth was not affected by the notices of her volumes of 1850, as she had been in 1844, probably because copies of the journals did not arrive in Italy until months after they had been published. Since many of the reviews had been kind to her, she could not have been disappointed. The article in the *Guardian,* which she had read early in May, 1851, just as she was beginning her journey to England, gave her in fact great pleasure. But the reviewers had mostly read her poems with the same carelessness and haste they had imputed to her writing, and they had expressed themselves superficially and in clichés.

In November and December Charles Eliot Norton, who had been graduated four years earlier from Harvard and was on a leisurely tour of the East and of Europe, paid a number of calls upon the Brownings at Casa Guidi. He found them "sitting in a pleasant home-like room, surrounded with pictures and books, with an open fire shedding a genial light through it." Browning, as Norton described him, had "a pleasant open expression and manner" and seemed in his looks and conversation quite unlike the idea of him he had received from his poems. Elizabeth's appearance was also altogether different from what he had expected after reading her works. He noticed her slight and delicate figure, her "reserved and timid" manner, her quiet plaintive voice. At first she had little to say, and Norton felt "as if she were so distrustful of herself that she kept back the expression of her sentiments and thoughts from all but those with whom she was familiar." Her face, like her voice, was "melancholy and full of sensibility" so that she looked like "the most delicate and sensitive of poets," rather than the author of poems of "very great intellectual strength and power of expression."

The more Norton saw of the Brownings, the more he liked them. Browning's conversation he thought extraordinary, with its quick flow of ideas and its inexhaustible fund of anecdotes told "with such entire straightforward earnestness that one cannot

but like him." He continued, "He is quite unconscious and never even in the slightest way claims any regard for himself as a poet, or shows that he expects you to remember that he is one. Indeed one of the most charming characteristics of both him and his wife is their self-forgetfulness."[25]

Notes

1. Page 585.
2. June 22, 1850, p. 662.
3. November 23, 1850, p. 1218. See Leslie A. Marchand, *The Athenaeum, A Mirror of Victorian Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp. 79, 274.
4. For his remarks on Elizabeth B. Browning, see pp. 281–289.
5. Philadelphia, 1848; pp. 452–487.
6. Philadelphia, 1849; pp. 500–521.
7. The *Poems* were advertised by Chapman and Hall under their "New Publications" in the *Athenaeum* (November 2, 1850), p. 1130, and in the *John Bull* (November 2, 1850), p. 690. The work was announced for "Early in November" in the *John Bull* (October 26, 1850), p. 674. For a discussion of the two different title pages and three different bindings of the *Poems,* see John Carter, "Mrs. Browning's Poems, 1850," *The Times Literary Supplement* (May 30, 1936), p. 464.
8. The edition of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese," supposedly printed in Reading, 1847, is a forgery. John Carter and Graham Pollard, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London and New York, 1934), pp. 8–41, 167–168.
9. Mrs. Browning's copy for preparing the two volumes of *Poems* (1850), with thousands of corrections in her hand, is in the Library of Wellesley College.
10. George Murray Smith Memorial Manuscript, British Museum (Add. MS. 43, 487). See note 16.
11. Browning stated in three letters that his wife first showed him the "Sonnets" at Bagni di Lucca in the summer of 1849: to Leigh Hunt, October 6, 1857 (Hood, pp. 47–49); to Julia Wedgwood, November 1864 (*Robert Browning and Julia Wedgwood. A Broken Friendship as Revealed in their Letters,* ed. Curle, pp. 114–115); to Mary Talbot, December 12, 1887 (published by Rowland Grey, "Browning's Answer," *Cornhill Magazine,* N. S. LXVIII [1930], pp. 423–430). Mrs. Browning wrote Arabel, January 12 [1851] (Berg), that she "never showed them to Robert till last spring"; but she was confused, for she had sent her manuscript of the new edition to England some time before February 18, 1850, as she explained to Miss Mitford;

(Kenyon, I, p. 436). Edmund Gosse wrote that Elizabeth gave Robert the "Sonnets" at Pisa early in 1847 and with the help of Miss Mitford had them printed later in the year at Reading. (Gosse, "The Sonnets from the Portuguese," *Critical Kit-Kats* (London, 1896), pp. 1-17; W. O. Raymond, "Thomas Wise and Edmund Gosse," *The Times Literary Supplement,* December 14, 1946, p. 620).

12. Quoted from Robert Browning's letter to Julia Wedgwood, November, 1864.

13. Mrs. Browning to Arabel, January 12 [1851] (Berg).

14. Quoted from Browning's letter to Julia Wedgwood, November, 1864.

15. This manuscript, which contains Sonnets I through XXVIII, except for Sonnet XVII, is in the Pierpont Morgan Library. (It was lot 153 of Sotheby).

16. The manuscript was presented by the Brownings' son to Mrs. George Murray Smith in 1898 and by her to the British Museum in 1933. It contains the 44 "Sonnets" and seven other poems: "A Denial," "Life and Love," "Verses" ("Inclusions," 1850), "Only" ("Insufficiency," 1850), "Proof and Disproof," "Question and Answer," and "A Ring" (the latter unpublished during Mrs. Browning's lifetime). See "Sonnets from the Portuguese," *The Times Literary Supplement,* June 21, 1947, p. 316.

17. The text of the third manuscript of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" is the same as that of the *Poems* of 1850. It is owned by Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.

18. January 12 [1851] (Berg).

19. XLIX (1850), p. 495.

20. I (1850), p. 714.

21. November 30, 1850, pp. 1242–1244.

22. XCIII (1851), pp. 295–303.

23. The *Guardian,* January 22, 1851, pp. 55–56; the *Examiner,* January 25, 1851, pp. 52–53; *Fraser's Magazine,* XLIII (1851), pp. 178–182. The writer has consulted the review of Mrs. Browning's *Poems* in the *English Review* as it was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* [New York], XXII (1851), pp. 337–344.

24. January 25, 1851, pp. 85–86.

25. *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton,* ed. Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Boston and New York, 1913), I, pp. 72–79.

John Pierpont, Abolitionist

By ABE C. RAVITZ

ON April 14, 1819, John Pierpont — teacher, poet, and graduate of the Harvard Divinity School — was ordained minister of the Hollis Street Church in Boston. At a time when William Ellery Channing, Henry Ware, J. G. Palfrey, N. L. Frothingham, and other clerical luminaries of New England were still preaching, young Pierpont, whose reputation was solely based on his poem *Airs of Palestine* (Baltimore, 1816), found himself a pastor very much in the public eye: a Unitarian minister holding forth at the old church of Mather Byles. Twenty-six years later, however, when he submitted his resignation, Pierpont had become one of the most controversial clergymen ever to ascend a Boston pulpit. For shortly after his ordination, the minister immersed himself in all the reform movements gripping New England society in an age characterized by Emerson: "Things are in the saddle/And ride mankind." In particular, Pierpont mortified his congregation by entering the Abolitionist camp of William Lloyd Garrison, and by vigorously championing at Boston rallies the cause of the slave.

Even by the close of the 1820's Pierpont had come to be a friend of Garrison, who was then making plans for the launching of the *Liberator*. "Rev. Mr. Pierpont honored me with a visit a few days since," Garrison wrote Jacob Horton; "he is an accomplished man, and his friendship worth cultivating." Until he met Garrison, however, Pierpont had been a mild Colonizationist; spending some years as a businessman in Baltimore, and more than a year as tutor on a plantation in South Carolina, he had fallen in with a group of Southerners who placed great faith in the program first outlined by Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*. But with the publication of the first issue of the *Liberator* in January, 1831, Pierpont found the program of the Colonizationists under severe attack; and he became a staunch Garrisonian clamoring for the immediate emancipation of the slave. In the subsequent years, he, like his fiery colleague, scathingly denounced the Constitution. Shortly afterwards he lost his pulpit.

With some satisfaction Anne W. Weston, a member of the noted Boston abolitionist family, recorded on February 13, 1837: "Mr. Pierpont has come out boldly . . . for he said in his pulpit, a few Sundays ago, that 'had I my will, the sun should not this night set upon a single slave.' "[1] He further shocked the Hollis Street pew-holders by claiming that "We ought to obey God rather than men."[2] Those who enact the law of the land are themselves (similar to the Puritan "stewards") responsible to God; the devout, therefore, need only obey the Highest Law: the word of the Almighty. Legal law and moral law are sometimes paradoxical elements — and on this theme Pierpont contributed to the 1839 edition of the *Liberty Bell,* the Abolitionist annual, "The Fugitive Slave's Apostrophe to the North Star":

This nation to the Eagle cowers;
Fit ensign! she's a bird of spoil:—
Like worships like! for each devours
The earnings of another's toil.
I've felt her talons and her beak,
And now the gentler Lion seek.

The blast was in direct line with Garrison's principles, and Pierpont continued to belabor his country with ever-increasing vituperation. In *National Humiliation* (1840) he denounced a nation that would hold in chains an entire race:

. . . while she dooms two million and a half of one race to the curse of slavery, dooms more than three millions and a half of another . . . to the three-fold curse of indolence, poverty, and fear; while at the same time, the master and the slave unite . . . in digging a bottomless pit . . .

This type of sermon offended Pierpont's flock; the brethren became annoyed with their minister's "unkind manner of preaching" and with his "bitter and excited feeling on slavery."

When in 1842 Pierpont advanced the claim that it was his duty to disregard those portions of the Constitution which he considered contrary to Christian morality, he was in complete harmony with Garrison. Terming "invalid" any moral covenant violating "a natural right," he quoted Shakespeare to substantiate his own position:

'Tis a great sin to swear unto a sin
But greater sin to keep a sinful oath.
(*II Henry VI,* V, 1, 182–183)

And he went on to apply the quotation to the matter at hand:

I am told that this part of the Constitution [Fugitive Slave Law] of the United States was a *compromise* between the friends of freedom at the North and those of slavery, at the South. Admit it. It was a *sinful* compromise . . . a compromise void for its immorality . . .[3]

The fact that the highest law of the land violated a "divine law" prompted him to assume his radical stand: *"I am bound to transgress that Constitution."* A few months later, the now thoroughly disturbed Hollis Street congregation heard him once more attack the ethics of the country. In the *Glory and Shame of America* he again showed why Garrison had thought his friendship "worth cultivating":

. . . the sound of the slaver's lash comes grating on our ears. We hear the roaring forge which forms their chains — we feel the cruel stripe and cannot shut our eyes as streams of living blood flow from their ghastly wounds . . . Reprove the Slaveholder . . . and he will point you to that Constitution enrolled in the bosom of the Capitol, the heart upon which all the life there is in the nation depends, — the heart which is pollution itself, and sends its pollution through all the veins of our political being . . .

His combative nature aroused, the minister chose to antagonize his flock, for which he nursed a contempt, by his poem "The Tocsin":

Yes, men of God! ye may not speak,
As by the word of God ye're bidden;
By the pressed lip, — the blanching cheek,
Ye feel yourselves rebuked and chidded;
And, if ye're not cast out, ye fear it; —
And why? — "The brethren" will not hear it.

The *Liberator* made a practice of prominently displaying the contributions of anti-slavery poets, and the name of John Pierpont was often seen in its columns. In January, 1840, "The Slaveholder's Address to the North Star" gave Pierpont opportunity to rake with sarcasm the Southern master who was unable to understand why the plight of the slave was wretched; in December, 1842, he attacked this same "despot" in "The Chase," a poem deriding the pursuers of fugitive slaves:

There's room here yet, for freemen's graves,
But none for kidnappers — or slaves.

And while the minister's poetic talent was not appreciated on Hollis Street, Garrison showed that so eminent a member of the *literati* as James Russell Lowell recognized the force of his voice by printing the latter's sonnet "Pierpont" in the *Liberator,* January 14, 1842:

> . . . this most bitter task was meant
> For those right worthy in such cause to plead,
> And therefore God sent poets, men content
> To live in humbleness and body's need,
> So they may tread the paths where Jesus went,
> And sow one grain of Love's Eternal Seed.

More and more notice was taken of Pierpont. Samuel J. May tells of how a poem of his about the notorious "Gag Law" threw a meeting of the constituents of John Quincy Adams into a jubilant frenzy.[4] Oliver Johnson in 1843 published the *Anti-Slavery Poems* of Pierpont, and the volume was reviewed in the *Dial* by Emerson, who favorably commented on the author's "talent," "spirited verses," and "poetical indignation."[5] Whittier placed his poem "To John Pierpont" as the dedicatory verse of his *Lays of My Home, and Other Poems* (Boston, 1843):

> And girded for thy constant strife with wrong,
> Like Nehemiah fighting while he wrought
> The broken walls of Zion, even, thy song
> Hath a rude martial tone, a blow in every thought!

The anti-slavery Liberty Party offered Pierpont their congressional nomination for 1842, Whittier sending him the official communication; but Pierpont, fighting not only against the forces of slavery but also those of "mammon" within his congregation, declined the honor in a letter to the Quaker poet:

> . . . but free he the slave can never be so long as the pulpit is controlled, dictated to, or intimidated by, the pews. This freedom is prior in order of time, to the freedom of the slave: and this freedom my friends and myself are endeavoring to vindicate, where it has been openly and powerfully assailed. Let us work out our problem — a labour quite severe enough for the hands that are engaged in it — and yours, my friend, will be worked out the sooner for it.[6]

The pressures were too much for him to bear, yet Pierpont held his pulpit for three more years; he finally resigned in 1845.

After four years at a pastorate in Troy, New York, he returned to Massachusetts, accepting a charge at Medford. He was welcomed

by a note from his friend Theodore Parker: "I understand that you will leave the Trojans and come nearer to us. 'Of course' you won't think of preaching about *Politics,* or any of the matters which demand *Reform.* No, you will *preach the Gospel."*[7]

Parker's facetiously worded suspicion was well founded; as soon as he arrived in Massachusetts, Pierpont began holding forth on the issues of the day. At the Springfield Unitarian Convention in 1850 he took the floor to denounce his colleagues for failing to attack the Fugitive Slave Law, expressing disdain for the *"quietistic* communion and intense spirituality of the body."[8] In 1858, at seventy-three, Pierpont gave up his Medford position. While he managed to exist as an occasional substitute preacher, his appearances were little demanded by Unitarians who had come to fear his tongue. Sumner was able to pull some political strings, and he was appointed chaplain for the 22nd Infantry Company of Massachusetts Volunteers. A soldier at seventy-six! He could not for long endure military life; but, luckily, he was offered a clerkship by Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury. At this post he spent his last years.

A reckless Garrisonian, Pierpont in his Civil War poetry thumped the drum for the "Stars and Stripes" while he scorned "the rebel banner"; he showed profound admiration for "Freedom's sons," and he flayed "the perjured traitors" and the "exulting lords" of slavery. No peace for the enemy:

> Crush each crawling Copperhead,
> And, in bloody battle, tread
> This rebellion down.[9]

What he lacked in art Pierpont made up for in violence, admitting that he possessed extravagant deficiencies as a poet. Writing to William Cullen Bryant in 1865, he referred to himself in a frank manner:

I am not aware that I am more envious than other second or third rate verse writers are, of contemporary *poets.* But, my friend, I am not in the least envious of *you,* or of *Whittier,* for you have, both of you, *earned* all of your great fame. It is yours by no cast of a die, nor by inheritance from any "ancient but ignoble blood . . ." It is your own by the best of titles. It is your own working up of the God-given material committed to your care, by Him.[10]

Pierpont lived to see the Emancipation Proclamation, and on the anniversary of his eightieth birthday — April 6, 1865 — many friends gathered at a testimonial dinner in Washington to honor him. Numerous others, unable to attend, sent written tributes: Bryant, Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Sumner, Lydia Maria Child, and Lydia H. Sigourney among them. Garrison's eulogy must have especially pleased him:

> Your career has been . . . distinguished for independence of thought, boldness of speech, fearlessness of investigation, and an untiring interest in the cause of progress and reform . . . You have been the echo of no man, no sect, no party; but have ever diligently sought to know the truth and maintain the right . . . You have been called to suffer reproach, persecution, ostracism . . . This treatment you have met bravely, serenely, victoriously . . .[11]

To John Pierpont the pulpit and the pen were weapons to be used for prodding his countrymen toward "perfection." A dynamic moralist, he lived up to the title which he once gave himself: "the slave's friend." With pride he was able to recite to the guests at his birthday celebration:

> And now, on the very ground
> Where I saw that slaver's hell,
> The negro walks, as a guard, his round
> By night, and cries, "All's well!"

Notes

1. Anne W. Weston to Debora Weston, in Weston Papers, IX, 14, Boston Public Library.
2. *Moral Rule of Political Action* (Boston, 1839), 3.
3. *A Discourse on the Covenant with Judas* (Boston, 1842), p. 29.
4. Samuel J. May, *Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict* (Boston, 1869), 220.
5. *Dial,* IV (July 1843), 134.
6. The partially mutilated manuscript is at the Morgan Library.
7. July 20, 1849; manuscript at the Morgan Library.
8. JP to ?, October 23, 1850; manuscript at the Boston Public Library.
9. "Our Country's Call," December 6, 1864; manuscript at the Morgan Library.
10. February 16, 1865; manuscript in the Bryant-Godwin Collection of the New York Public Library.
11. All the tributes were reported in the *Washington Chronicle,* April 7, 1865.

Landscape In Comic Art

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

LANDSCAPE — what has it to do with comic art? Little if anything with the form which is in vogue and most ubiquitous, the comic strip. Indeed, the strip, in its usual appearance, is not a matter of art but of humorous literature playing about a set of changeless puppets. But when one gets beyond that field and approaches the artistic element in pictorial humor, landscape soon makes its appearance. There were glimpses of it — strongly summarized indications of suburban surroundings — in some of Fontaine Fox's Toonerville bits. More perhaps in the sketches of out-of-town life by Clare Briggs and H. T. Webster, the landscape, however, centering well within the confines of the house-plot. When Denys Wortman takes his "Mopey Dick and the Duke" out of the city, one can feel his pleasure at contact with nature.

So started, one notes the great difference and variety in spirit between the drawings of artists encountered in the course of amusement by pictorial means. Caricature and comic art are convenient terms covering various mental attitudes of artists before the humorous view of life. One is that form of artistic expression which characterizes without exaggeration, kindly and sympathetically noting the foibles of mankind. As the artistic feeling is thus given freer play, a humorous situation is apt to be placed in appropriate surroundings. Stage setting and actors are combined into a temporary entity. That applies also to drawings by "comic artists," which illustrate no joke at all, but present some typical aspect of life. A. B. Frost did that often. With him backgrounds of natural scenery form proper setting for the foreground figures. This appears in his pictures of hunting, golfing, bicycling, and other sports, or of Negro life. The artistic interest is about as strong in the landscape as in the figures.

This outlook on art and life has appeared in the work of enough contributors to the comic press to make the indicated feature evident. Possibly the quieter pace of the nineteenth century did something to foster this spirit. In the Victorian days there were artists on the London *Punch* who, while illustrating jokes, had an appreciation of landscape. A notable example was Charles Keene, whose drawings

offer a gallery of intimate glimpses of English countryside, introduced with evident pleasure as he was concerned with the weaknesses of country people. Similarly, he placed Scottish gunning or angling scenes in their natural surroundings. DuMaurier's humor was mainly a matter of the drawing-room, yet when occasion called for it he could expend the charm of his style on the delineation of roadway and trees. John Leech, in his frequent fox-hunting scenes, naturally set his gentlemen riding to hounds in characteristic landscapes. (Public interest in the countryside was reflected also in the old British sporting prints.) George Cruikshank, typical of the caricaturist-illustrator of the Ainsworth-Dickens period, had facility in making clowns of his figures, but he also had a talent for light, airy landscapes, such as the one in the etching of Bill Sikes trying to drown his dog in *Oliver Twist*. The still earlier Rowlandson's often rather ribald figures were apt to be placed in delightful landscapes, evidently set down with the same zest and gusto.

All of this has to do with social caricature. In political cartoons landscape is not generally found. Yet it has sometimes been added. There is Daumier's famous "Enfoncé Lafayette," dominated by the huge bulk of Louis Philippe in the foreground. But beyond him the funeral procession of Lafayette passes through a landscape indicated in the fewest possible lines — a masterly exposition of the virtue of elimination. The setting plays its part in an effective composition. This element is naturally found in Daumier's non-political lithographs, figures and setting flowing together into a whole of solid unity. The essential difference between Daumier and his contemporary Gavarni is apparent also in their landscape drawing. Gavarni's more evident grace is reflected in whatever rural backgrounds he introduced, which add their contrast to his analysis of human character. But in his "Ils ont eu des mots," a subject unusual for him, Gavarni's drawing moves in the direction of Daumier; and the bleak, deeply grooved ground seems a perfect setting for the scene of violence.

Later French artists may engage our attention. Caran d'Ache, for instance, whose landscape settings are reduced to a sort of symbolical synthesis harmonizing with his stylized figures; or Forain, Willette, Charles Huard, Abel Faivre, and Poulbot.

The entry of landscape into the "comic" naturally means that the artist is beyond the needs of furnishing humor. When the object

is the mere manufacture of stereotyped response to stereotyped desires on the part of the public, the element of art shrinks to a weak tenuity. The capacity of the comic artist to be moved by natural beauties, and to communicate this feeling in the course of his more obvious vocation, is a touchstone of his power. Some of the greatest caricaturists have been, indeed, noteworthy artists.

Woodcuts by Karl Friedrich Zähringer

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

ONE of the most notable additions to the Print Department in recent months is the unique collection by Karl F. Zähringer.

Considering that his productive years were limited and that these were constantly interrupted by serious illness, the high quality of Zähringer's creative achievement with graver and woodblock is all the more praiseworthy. These prints have been secluded in the United States for eighteen years and were brought to light from the small town of Northfield, Massachusetts. It would seem that this dormant period has now revealed Zähringer's work in proper perspective, and has shown its true value for all to enjoy. The profound accomplishment demonstrated in his graphic work will place the artist's name beside those of the leading German Expressionists, Ernest Ludwig Kirchner (1880-1938), Max Beckman (1884-1950), Ernest Barlach (1870-1938), and Gustav Wolf (1887-1947).

Until recently the prints were in the possession of Mrs. Gustav Wolf. They were brought to the United States by her husband, whose interest and foresightedness have fortunately preserved them for the art world. It is just to promote these fine examples of the woodblock to high rank. The reason why Zähringer's work did not stimulate a certain measure of success during his lifetime would seem to be that it had not come before the notice of connoisseurs and collectors. Since the exhibition of his woodcuts in the Print Department they have created an unusual interest, revealing a new talent in the graphic arts field.

Karl Friedrich Zähringer was born at Füssen bei Borndorf in 1886 and spent his early youth at Mannheim, in the upper valley of the Rhine. After preliminary schooling he went to Karlsruhe, where he entered the School of Applied Arts, specializing in furniture design and interior decoration. This work was abandoned because of poor health. However, his creative talent did not pass unnoticed, and his friends prevailed upon him to dedicate his endowments to further study of the fine

"Woman with Baby," a Woodcut by Zähringer

arts. Unfortunately, these studies were interrupted by recurring illness, and, with the aid of an interested patron, a teaching position in Switzerland was obtained for him. During this period of convalescence he met and afterwards married Käethe Leistner, who inspired him to develop his talent toward wood engraving and woodcut.

Zähringer's work can be divided into three periods: the first, 1911-1913, during which he executed a number of oil paintings, woodcuts, and wood engravings, of which the latter showed unusual merit. The second, 1914-1916, produced some excellent wood engravings and a series of illustrations to the *Bible* and *Don Quixote.* From here on one experiences the unfolding of his real talent and creative powers. His most important work developed during the following years, 1917-1920, when several portfolios were published at Karlsruhe in limited editions, including the series "The Black Forest Peasants" and "The Life of Mary." These were created in the fullness of his art, and displayed inventiveness and originality in both subject and technique.

These larger compositions were perfectly organized in patterns of area cutting and clean-cut line, producing an effect of vibrant contrasts in black and white. However, this period of fulfillment was destined to be one of short duration, for Zähringer suffered a complete nervous breakdown owing to overwork and the untimely death of his wife in 1919.

After a year of convalescence, he picked up his graver again and dedicated his prints to Käethe's memory within the borders of the compositions. These blocks, which displayed the peak of the artist's talent, were rescued by Gustav Wolf and were printed by him after Zähringer's death in 1923. Friends and admirers published the series in a limited edition; and, to the writer's knowledge, these prints have never been seen in America.

The wood engravings devoted to *Don Quixote,* although engraved early in Zähringer's career, contain ten small prints which in vitality and dramatic invention augur well for the future. The use of open technique, combined with tonal passages produced by the use of a multiple graver, would seem to indicate that these illustrations were done when the artist was still a student of painting. No doubt, the experience gained

at the School of Applied Arts stood him in good stead, for the maturity displayed in these prints express dexterity in the handling of wood and tools. In fact, they seem to mark the transition between the period of Zähringer's development as a painter and his later work as a graphic artist.

There is a marked contrast between the small prints of *Don Quixote* and those of "The Life of Mary." The lines and masses are strong and free from half-tone. The method is frankly decorative, and it fully demonstrates the contemporary way in which the woodcut was employed by the German Expressionists. There are supporting backgrounds which enhance the central motive of the "Virgin" by the introduction of landscape, figures, and animals. The results are forceful yet quiet in their sincere interpretation which challenges the Old Masters' engravings.

Zähringer's "Black Forest Peasants," done during the last years of his life, can be numbered among the best that has come out of the renaissance of the woodcut medium which took place at the turn of the century. He developed to a high degree the *raison d'être* of the modern woodcut in which can be traced an affinity with impressionistic painting. There is no doubt that he cut directly in the block from nature, or an interpretation of it, resulting in a spontaneous conception of subject and composition.

In these fine prints Zähringer created his subject matter of peasants and animal life as representations of fact, not accurate in the ordinary sense of draftsmanship and construction but treated as references in personal interpretation. He demonstrated freedom and mastery of the handling of his tools. The natural gifts, coupled with experience and knowledge, produced results which possess individual character through a simplified message, not by modification of drawing alone. He also went beyond the elimination of forms to develop his own message.

It was a fortunate circumstance that brought Zähringer's woodcuts to the notice of the Print Department. He has made a real contribution to the school of modern woodcut, and his prints will generally be recognized as a lasting contribution to the graphic arts. Their rarity will arrest the attention of all who have, now for the first time, the opportunity of seeing his work.

Notes on Rare Books

A Great French Mystery Play

ON Sunday, April 30, 1536, the inhabitants of the town of Bourges, about a hundred and fifty miles south of Paris, flocked in their holiday array to the old Roman amphitheater, newly painted and covered with an awning to protect the spectators from the sun. It was the first day of the great mystery play, *Les Actes des Apostres*. So elaborate was the production, from the election of St. Matthias to the arrival of Nero's soul in Hell, that it lasted for forty days! Nearly five hundred characters appeared to speak the more than sixty thousand lines; props included fire-breathing dragons, fountains gushing milk and blood, a roaring lion, and the head of St. John the Baptist; costumes were of satin, velvet, cloth-of-gold, and precious stones.

The Boston Public Library possesses the first three editions of this important work, the earliest of which was published in Paris, in two folio volumes, in 1537 by Nicolas Couteau for Guillaume Alabat. Alabat, a merchant of Bourges, wished to make the play — such a triumphant success in its live presentation — more widely available to others, "to the delight of their spirits and the edification of their souls." He was granted a six-year privilege, which he later yielded to the brothers Angelier, printers in Paris. The latter issued it in 1540, in quarto, and again in folio in 1541.

Les Actes des Apostres was composed some time after 1450 by Arnoul and Simon Greban or Gresban; it is thought that Arnoul (noted as the author of a famous *Passion*) began the play and, upon his death, Simon finished it. Few details have been preserved of the lives of the brothers. Arnoul was a canon of the cathedral church of St. Julien at Mans; and Simon, at one time secretary to Charles d'Anjou, Duke of Maine, seems likewise to have become a canon there. Their birthplace is a matter of controversy. One set of authorities considers them natives of Mans, on the basis of such evidence as Clément Marot's epigram which contains the line "Les deux Grebans ont le Mans honoré," while others place their origin at Compiègne. At the end of the fifteenth century a tomb was erected for Simon in the cathedral of Mans before the altar of St. Michael, which however was destroyed by the Huguenots. The prologue of the mystery comments on the authors:

Symon greban bon poete estime
Mesme en son temps prit peine de lescripre
Comme le voys moult doucement rhythme,
Ung frere il eut Arnoul greban nomme
Gentil ouvrier en pareille science
Et inventeu de grande vehemence
Or lung et lautre est digne destre ayme
Se on doit aymer les choses dexcellence.

The title page of the first edition, printed in red and black, shows the arms of Alabat flanked by woodcuts of St. Peter and St. Paul. On the verso, above the "privilege," is a large design enclosing the motto and coats-of-arms of Francis I. The book is illustrated by a full-page engraving (repeated in both volumes) of the Virgin being carried by angels to Heaven, where the Father and Son, with the Dove, await her. Below are watching the Apostles and early martyrs. The whole is enclosed in an architectural border. In the quarto of 1540 the cuts of the two saints are retained on the title page, and the "mark" of the Angelier brothers is added to that of Alabat. The mark is repeated at the end of each volume in a much larger form. The folio edition of 1541 includes *Lapocalypse sainct Jehan Zebedes,* by Louis Choquet, occupying 104 pages. It has a separate title page and fourteen small woodcuts representing St. John's visions.

WHAT is this story the performance of which took forty days? The framework is of course the Acts of the Gospel, but there is much more — the Apostles are followed throughout their careers, St. Thomas to India, St. Bartholomew to Armenia, St. Matthias to Ethiopia, St. Philip to Scythia, and so on. Alongside runs a counterplot of Lucifer and his devils; in medieval plays much of the comedy is found in these scenes of diablerie. Other stock comic characters are the hangman and the blind man, both of whom appear in the Greban Mystery.

The opening scene shows the three Marys, the eleven Apostles, and the disciples, one hundred and twenty persons in all, gathered together after the Ascension to choose the successor to Judas. The story shifts to Hell, where Lucifer summons his cohorts. The names roll off his tongue — Satan, Apollyon, Belial, Astaroth, the Eumenides, Pantagruel, Cerberus . . . He sends them into the world to oppose the Apostles. The scenes follow quickly, changing from Heaven where Jesus asks His Father to have the Holy Spirit descend upon the Apostles to Earth and back to Hell. Ananyas and Saphira are struck dead while the devils

rejoice and sing; St. Stephen is martyred; Saul is converted; the Emperor Caligula is assassinated; the Virgin dies and is crowned in Heaven. The story reaches its final climax in the conflict between St. Peter and Simon the Magician, in the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, and in the suicide of the Emperor Nero.

The great spectacle at Bourges was described in several contemporary documents. Jacques Thiboust, sieur de Quantilly, gave an eyewitness account of the great parade on the opening day, when all the actors, riding on floats and led by the mayor and town officials, showed off their finery. A single example may indicate the luxury displayed. Waradach, Duke of Babylon, wore a doublet of cloth-of-gold, with an embroidered collar strewn with seed-pearls; across his shoulders was draped a great rope of gold of the weight of three or four hundred crowns. He was girdled with another chain of gold, from which hung three lesser chains and a short sword in a green velvet scabbard. His ducal cap was of blue satin, with a brim of gold, heavily decorated with knots of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. Such magnificence, multiplied many times, seems almost incredible, but Bourges was one of the wealthiest towns of the period, and the cast, who supplied their own costumes, included the most important of the magistrates, clergy, and bourgeoisie.

Another record, first published in 1853 in the *Annales Archéologiques,* preserved the long list of props. Trap-doors, ladders, pulleys, were part of the standard equipment of these mysteries. Among the stage directions occur: "There should be in Paradise a great thundering, then descend upon the Cenacle brilliant tongues of fire, and a little after must appear the Holy Spirit to illumine and fill with grace the Apostles"; "Provide a ship for St. Paul to cross the sea to Cesarea"; "Make the idol of Astaroth talk"; "It is necessary for Jesus Christ to descend from Paradise and come to the Virgin Mary, accompanied by a great multitude of Angels, to take away her soul with him. At the hour that Jesus Christ enters the chamber of the Virgin, a great odor of fragrance should arise."

THE earliest recorded performance of the play took place about 1478, possibly at Aix. In December of that year Jehan du Perier, Marshal of Count René, King of Sicily, received two hundred and fifty florins in consideration of his services in putting on a play on the history of the Apostles, undoubtedly the present mystery. Other towns appear

to have been Anger, Le Mons, Tours, and Argentan. In 1541 the Confraternity of the Passion in Paris, jealous of the success of Bourges, staged the drama with great magnificence. The entire performance ran for six months, probably from Easter to All Saints, but as Sundays and solemn feast-days were excluded, the actual number of days was about twenty-five or thirty.

There is extant a single copy (which has been reprinted in a facsimile edition of forty-two copies) of the proclamation or public *Cry* for this performance, which was to call together all those interested in taking part. It opens with a description of the procession of December 16, 1539. First came the trumpeters, then the archers to keep order among the people. City officials followed on horseback; two men, clothed in black velvet and satin cloaks, made the proclamation; and the end of the procession was brought up by a large number of the important bourgeoisie.

The call went out to "Cité," "Ville," and "Université," magistrates and politicians, poets and orators, to come to the Salle de la Passion to try out for parts on the day after Christmas. The names of the four directors of the Paris production have been preserved; they were François Hamelin, a lawyer, François Poutrain, a tapistrymaker, Leonard Chobelet, a butcher, and Jean Louvet, a seedman and florist.

The tryouts were held, the actors were chosen, and the play was produced in the Hôtel des Flandres. It was a tremendous success, but when the Confraternity, hoping to duplicate it, made plans to present the equally lengthy mystery of the *Vieux Testament,* it encountered strong opposition on the part of the Parliament of Paris. "The managers as well as the players," went the charge, "are ignorant people, mechanical artisans, knowing neither A nor B, who are neither instructed nor trained to perform such acts; and besides, they have neither fluent tongue nor correct language nor the accents of decent pronunciation nor any knowledge of what they are saying." But the major complaint was that those illiterate folk in charge of the production had added many apocryphal events, and included lascivious farces and mummeries so that the play had been prolonged for six months "leading to a cessation of divine service, a cooling of charity and alms, adulteries and infinite fornications, scandals, derisions, and mockeries." The common people, the Parliament protested, hurried at eight in the morning to get their seats, remaining until night; sermons had ceased since there was none to hear; parish priests had given up saying vespers, or said them at midday, in order to attend the play. However, Francis I authorized the production of the *Vieux Testament*, with certain restrictions.

The *Acts of the Apostles* had already gotten its sponsors into trouble with the King. The Confraternity of the Passion in Paris hoped to reap some extra profits by printing the text, but the Angelier brothers, in possession of Alabat's original privilege, would have none of this and obtained an injunction forbidding any other to print the work. Thus the shrewd publishers themselves gained all the benefits, being obliged to issue two editions in two years.

The three editions, all printed in handsome French Gothic letters, have been placed on view in the Treasure Room.

Ellen M. Oldham

The Apple-Tree Table Tale

In the first half of the nineteenth century there was a widely circulated tale of a strange insect that emerged from the wood of an old apple-tree table. Henry David Thoreau and Herman Melville made use of the tale. Professor Frank Davidson, in his article on "Melville, Thoreau, and 'The Apple-Tree Table'" in the January, 1954, *American Literature* for the first time calls attention to the dependence of Melville's version upon Thoreau's. But there has never been an attempt to collate all the known versions, or to establish Thoreau's source.

The tale is apparently based on fact. The apple tree grew on the farm of Major General Putnam of Brooklyn, Connecticut. In 1786, when it was approximately eighty years old, the tree was cut down and manufactured into a table. Some years later, P. S. Putnam, the Major General's son, moved to Williamstown, Massachusetts, taking the table with him. In 1806 a strange bug emerged, to be followed by another a few years later, and a third in 1814.

The first version of the story to appear in print seems to be one included in an obscure little periodical, the *Literary and Philosophical Repertory,* (II, 378–379), published in Middlebury, Vermont, in March 1816. It is doubtful if either Thoreau or Melville saw it, although both knew of its later adaptations. This version included two sentences that were omitted from the later versions: "The table had been used for some years in ironing clothes. Did the heat, thus communicated, hatch the eggs and bring the bugs to life?" Thoreau states that the insect was "hatched perchance by the heat of an urn." Thus his suggestion that the eggs were hatched by heat was anticipated by some thirty years.

It is to be noted that the first version uses an iron, while Thoreau uses an urn; and Thoreau must have developed the heat theory independently, based on his own observations as a naturalist.

A second, independent version appeared in Timothy Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, 1821). Dwight, the President of Yale University, met President Fitch of Williams College, learned the tale from him, and was shown one of the insects. Although the *Repertory* version states that the insect had remained in the table seventy-three years, Dwight gives the figure *sixty*. And it is this figure that Thoreau uses. That both Thoreau and Melville were familiar with Dwight's work is easily demonstrated. In his well-known essay on "Hawthorne and his Mosses," Melville mentions reading the book, and Thoreau quotes from it a number of times in both *Cape Cod* and his *Journal*.

In 1829 D. D. Field reprinted the *Repertory* version in slightly expanded form in his *History of Berkshire County, Massachusetts,* published in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, but he omitted the sentences about the heat of the iron. There is no indication that Thoreau knew this book, but that Melville not only knew it but owned a copy is indicated in Merton Sealt's checklist of Melville's reading in the *Harvard Library Bulletin* for Winter, 1949. In 1839 the *Repertory* version was reprinted in a slightly abridged form from Field in J. W. Barber's *Massachusetts Historical Collections,* published at Worcester. There is nothing to show that Melville knew this volume, but Thoreau quoted from it frequently in *Cape Cod* and his *Journal*.

In 1854 Thoreau published his version in the concluding pages of Walden. As Professor Davidson points out, he here introduced several elements which Melville was to use — the heat of an urn hatching the eggs; a family frightened by the sound of the emerging insect as they gathered around the table; and a green tree in association with resurrection. In May, 1856, Melville's version appeared as "The Apple-Tree Table or Original Spiritual Manifestations" in *Putnam's Magazine*.

Professor Willard Thorp was the first to note in his *Herman Melville; Representative Selections* that Thoreau and Melville both used the tale; and Douglas Sackman discussed in his article on "The Original of Melville's Apple-Tree Table" in *American Literature* for January, 1940, the relation of Melville's version to those of the *Repertory* and of Dwight.

Many have wondered at Thoreau's credulity in accepting what on its surface seems an old wives' tale, experienced naturalist that he was.

This writer referred the story to the well-known entomologist, Mr. Edwin Way Teale of Baldwin, Long Island, asking if such an insect grub could conceivably emerge after such a long period of time. In reply, Mr. Teale cited W. J. Showalter's *Our Insect Friends and Foes* (Washington, 1935, p. 84) which records a well-authenticated case of the grub of a long-horned beetle remaining in the wood of a bookcase for fifty years. Thus Thoreau's credulity is apparently vindicated.

WALTER HARDING

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